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NARRATIVE

OF

MY CAPTIVITY

IN

JAPAN,

DURING THE YEARS 1811, 1812 & 1813;

WITH

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE.

BY

CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN, R. N.

To which is added

AN ACCOUNT OF

VOYAGES TO THE COASTS OF JAPAN,

AND OF

Negotiations with the Japanese,

FOR THE

RELEASE OF THE AUTHOR AND HIS COMPANIONS,

BY CAPTAIN RIKORD.

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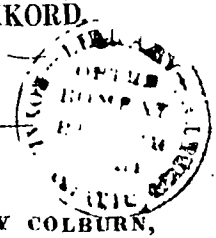
VOL. II.



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NARRATIVE

OF

CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN.

CHAPTER I.

PROCEEDING in our hazardous enterprize, we began, at the distance of about five wersts from the shore, to climb the hills, and endeavoured, wherever it was possible, to direct our course towards the north. The stars served to guide us. Whilst we were ascending the first hill I felt a violent pain in my knee, which, in a short time swelled prodigiously. When we proceeded along places which were level, I could, with the assistance of a stick, walk without much difficulty; but I experienced severe pain either in ascending or descending, as I was then obliged to tread heavily with the leg which had been hurt. Being thus unable to make an equal use of both feet, I was quickly overcome with fatigue. My companions were, therefore, under the necessity of stopping every half hour, in order that I might recover myself, and ease my knee by resting.

Our object was to reach, before day-break, some hills, along which a thick forest extended, in order to conceal ourselves from the observation of the enemy; for we had now reason to regard the Japanese as implacably hostile to us. During our walks in the vicinity of the town, this forest appeared to us to be at no considerable distance; but we soon found how greatly we had mistaken its situation. We could trace no footpath leading directly to the forest, and we therefore advanced straight forward. Owing to the darkness of the night we could see no farther than a few paces around us, and we sometimes unexpectedly found ourselves at the foot of a steep precipice which it was impossible to climb. We had then to search for a more practicable road; which, when found, we continued to ascend until new obstacles presented themselves.

In this way we spent three anxious hours, and having at last gained the summit, we proceeded northward along the level height. But fate had every where thrown interruptions and difficulties in our way. At the height we had now reached, the snow lay in some parts extremely thick, and the Japanese might easily have traced our footsteps across it. We were therefore obliged to search for such places as were not covered with snow; in doing this we crossed from one side to the other, and frequently turned back,

by which we were greatly fatigued, and advanced but slowly. About an hour before daybreak, however, we unexpectedly found ourselves proceeding, in a direct line, for the forest, along a good road, which the Japanese had made for the purpose of conveying wood to the city on pack-horses. This road was thickly imprinted with the tracks of horses and men; there was no snow upon it, and therefore the Japanese could not trace our footsteps. It led in a straight northerly direction, and passed over the level summits of the hills. We were not a little delighted at the discovery, and advanced with increased rapidity. I still felt much pain in my knee, and through the whole of my leg; but as we were walking on level ground it was nothing to equal that which I experienced when ascending the side of the hill.

We hoped shortly to reach the forest, in the heart of which we intended to pass the day; but the sailor, Wassiljeff, who accidentlly looked behind him, suddenly exclaimed, "they are pursuing us on horseback with lanterns." With these words he quickly descended into a hollow on one side of the road. On looking round, we perceived some lights which appeared to be at no great distance from us. We immediately followed the example of Wassiljeff, and precipitated ourselves into a deep hollow. We descended to a considerable distance without finding either a tree or thicket under

which we could conceal ourselves, and day was already beginning to dawn. Had it been broad daylight we might easily have been observed from any of the surrounding hills. We at length reached the bottom of the hollow, which was on every side overhung with naked precipices. The hollow itself was covered with thick snow, but no place of concealment presented itself, and the sun had now completely risen.

We stood still for a few moments, not knowing how to proceed; at last we perceived a small aperture in a rock, and on approaching it, found that it was a cavity which might, perhaps, though with difficulty, contain us all. A waterfall, which descended from the hill and passed by the side of this cavity, had hollowed out a pit about ten feet deep almost directly under it. We were enabled to get near the cavity by advancing along the snow which was very high on the one side. This hole, in which we hoped to find shelter, was situated in the side of a rock, about nine feet from the bottom of the hollow, but the cataract had driven away so much of the snow, that it was with the greatest difficulty we could reach the apreture, our only assistance in climbing being a small tree which grew beside it. Had any of us missed a step, or had the tree failed to support our weight, we might have been precipitated into the pit, from which we could not easily have ex-

tricated ourselves. With my lame leg, it would have been next to impossible for me to have got out. We, however, succeeded in reaching the hole in safety.

When in it, we found that we had not sufficient room to sit down, and our grotto was, besides, half filled with a kind of sand stones, of which the whole hill was composed. Many of the stones lay with their sharp points and edges upwards, and we dared not to stir without the greatest caution, as there was a considerable slope towards the mouth of the hole; and had any of the stones given way, we might have rolled out along with them. We could neither lie down nor stretch out our feet, but were obliged to rest ourselves first on one elbow, and then on the other. In other respects our hiding place was well adapted to our purpose. The Japanese could not have traced us to it from any distance, for fortunately a keen frosty morning had so hardened the snow, that our footsteps were no longer visible. But there was one circumstance which excited our apprehension, our companion Schkajeff, as he was descending the hollow, lost his cap, which he had himself made out of a worsted stocking. Had it been picked up by the Japanese, they would have immediately recognised it as a part of our wardrobe, and it might perhaps have assisted them in discovering our asylum. We were, besides, afraid that

the rays of the sun might melt the snow at the entrance of the cavity, and in that case we should have found it impossible to get out, as even in the morning we could not reach it without considerable difficulty.

In this situation we remained until sunset, reflecting on our fate and deliberating how we should proceed. The day was extremely clear, but the rays of the sun did not penetrate to our retreat, and the neighbouring waterfall increased the coolness of the atmosphere, so that we frequently shivered till our teeth knocked against each other. During the whole day we distinctly heard the sound of hatchets in the forest, which was at no great distance from us. At sunset we peeped out of our hole and saw a number of people on the hills. No other remarkable circumstance occurred, except that we heard a rustling noise as if somebody had been slipping down the hill towards us. The noise became louder and louder; we even fancied that we beheld soldiers in search of us, and prepared for our defence, when we suddenly perceived a wild deer, but the animal no sooner smelt us than he darted off at full speed.

When the stars began to appear we left our hole, and proceeded northwards to a high hill, which was here and there overgrown with underwood. My situation was dreadful. Whilst we were in the cave I had constantly kept my lame leg in

one position, and therefore experienced but little uneasiness, but whenever I attempted to walk, and particularly to ascend the hill, the pain, which was not confined to my knee, but extended from the heel to the hip, was unbearable. I endured the utmost agony in climbing this hill, and we had yet many more to ascend. The circumstances of our case, however, required that we should advance without loss of time. Finding that I retarded my companions, and that I might perhaps occasion them to be overtaken by their pursuers, I entreated that they would abandon me to my fate, and proceed without me; but to this suggestion they would not listen. I represented that, from the commencement of our enterprise, fate had destined me to suffer, by rendering me incapable of following them. I begged that they would not sacrifice themselves for my sake, as I only occasioned them to linger, and from the excruciating pain which I endured, they must, sooner or later, leave me behind. But they were not to be prevailed on by my entreaties. They all protested that so long as I lived they would not abandon me, and that they would stop to let me rest at every quarter of a mile, and that, when they reached a safe place of concealment, they would stop for two or three days, during which time I might recover the use of my leg. Makaroff besides offered to assist me in climbing the hills, if I would go behind him and hold by the skirts of

his jacket or his girdle. In this manner I resolved to follow my companions; I was unable to walk, and was dragged along by the sailors.

Having ascended another hill, we reached a level spot which was covered with bamboo reeds and grass of the preceding year. Here we rested for a short time, and then advanced in a northerly direction, taking the stars for our guides. The night was calm and clear, and the snow-topt hills, which we had yet to ascend, shone in the distance. The level eminence which we were now crossing, was separated from the adjoining hill by a ravine of extraordinary depth, which we thought it imprudent to descend during the night, as we might have experienced considerable difficulty in extricating ourselves from the abyss. Instead therefore of advancing straight northwards, we turned a little towards the west, and proceeded along the edge of the ravine, in the hope of finding some convenient place for crossing it. Our embarrassment was not of long duration. We soon discovered a kind of mound which appeared to be indebted to art for its existence, and which connected together the summits of the hills, which were otherwise separated by the precipitous ravine. It was on account of its magnitude only that it could be regarded as a production of nature. As we were proceeding onward we discovered, as we supposed, two huts, and at intervals heard the sound of a pipe

resembling that which is used in Russia for alluring quails. We stooped down among the grass, and for a long while listened attentively without knowing whether the sound proceeded from a bird or from some hunters whom we suspected might be in the huts. We at length resolved to advance, being well aware that their number could not be so considerable as to prevent our resisting them with success in case they attacked us. On approaching, however, we discovered that what we had in the dark taken for huts were merely two heaps of poles. We armed ourselves with some of these poles, and then pursued our course.

On reaching the next hill we discovered a wide road leading to the north, along which coals and wood are conveyed on packhorses to the city. We observed plainly that this road had not been trodden during the present spring, though we perceived in all directions fires which were doubtless kindled for making charcoal. The sides of this road were overgrown with thickets and high grass, among which we lay down to rest at midnight, for owing to the sharp stones with which the cave was filled, we had not enjoyed a moment's repose during the day. We slept for two or three hours and then resumed our course. From the summit of the hill we descended, by various turnings and windings, into a small valley, which was watered by a little stream, on the surface of which the ice and deep

snow were in many places sufficiently strong to bear our weight. We now lost sight of the road, and proceeded over the snow in an oblique direction across the valley, in the hope of finding the road again, but our attempt was unsuccessful: we however discovered a footpath, leading to the summit of a hill, which was higher than any we had hitherto crossed. As the precipice was extremely difficult to ascend, and we frequently found it necessary to stop to rest ourselves, we did not reach the summit until day was about to dawn. We then found a convenient resting place, where we resolved to halt for the day. We crept in among the thickest of the bushes, and for the sake of a little warmth lay close to each other, as the morning was extremely cold, and our clothing was not calculated to protect us from its influence. We did not, however, lie in this place above two hours, and we suffered so severely from the cold, that to sleep was quite impossible.

When daylight was completely set in, we arose to take a view of the objects around us. We found ourselves on a lofty eminence, which was on every side surrounded by mountains. Those towards the south were somewhat lower than the one on which we stood, but those to the north were, on the contrary, considerably higher. Hills, forests and snow were the only objects which met our eyes; yet the prospect was sublime. We observed that the tops of all the hills were enveloped in mist, and we con-

sequently concluded that if we kindled a fire among the bushes it would not be perceptible from any of the surrounding eminences; we therefore resolved to try the experiment, for the double purpose of warming ourselves and boiling our kettle*; not indeed to make tea, for we had none with us, but to warm and render more palatable our rice, which was by this time dry and mouldy. We likewise searched for wild herbs, but in vain, for among these hills winter still raged with the utmost severity. We collected some dry twigs, kindled a fire, and warmed some snow-water, which we sucked up with small bamboo reeds, and eat the rice along with it.

In the meantime some heavy clouds arose behind the hills from the east, and the wind began to howl among the rocks. The clouds spread in every direction, and the wind blew with more and more violence. A storm appeared to be gathering. Persuaded that we should now meet nobody among the hills, and that our pursuers therefore could not discover us, we resolved to proceed without waiting for night. We were, moreover, induced to adopt this resolution on account of the extreme cold, from which, notwithstanding the fire, we suffered most severely.

* We had not forgotten to bring along with us a copper kettle, which our attendants had, by a lucky chance, on the night of our escape, left on the hearth in the room where the sailors slept.

We proceeded straight northwards, along the footpath which had been traced on the ridges of the mountains. This path, however, soon inclined to one side, and at length turned completely round; we therefore abandoned it, and pursued our course among the thickets. The declivity of the hill, which was covered with snow, soon conducted us into a hollow. The pain in my foot had not in the least abated, and I was dragged along, holding by the girdle of Makaroff. When we were descending the precipice the violence of the pain forced me to sit down on the snow and slide along. In doing this I guided my course with the pole to which the chisel was fixed, which also served to diminish the velocity of my motion where the declivity was very abrupt. Contrary to our expectations the storm did not arise, the clouds dispersed, and all the surrounding hills became perceptible.

This did not, however, induce us to alter our determination, and we still continued to advance. On reaching the hollow, we discovered on the banks of a little rivulet, two or three earthen huts, but there was nobody within them. We waded through the water, and again ascended a hill, which, however, had the advantage of being covered with trees, against which we frequently rested, and by which we were at the same time concealed from observation.

Having ascended to a considerable height, we suddenly found ourselves at the foot of a steep

rock, which we could not climb without the greatest difficulty and danger. I had nearly reached the top of the rock, when I found myself under the necessity of loosening my hold of the girdle of Makaroff, who otherwise, overburthened as he was, would not have been able to have gained the summit. I therefore placed the toes of my sound foot firmly against a stone, and throwing my right arm round a young tree, which was so much bent down, that it inclined almost to a horizontal direction, I resolved to wait until Makaroff should reach the top, and be able to release me from my perilous situation. But powerful and vigorous as Makaroff was, his great exertions had so overcome him, that he no sooner reached the summit, than he fell to the ground almost in a lifeless state. At this moment, the stone against which I had rested my foot detached itself and rolled to the bottom of a deep hollow which the rock overhung; I was thus left hanging by one hand, without the possibility of obtaining any other support, owing to the excessive smoothness of the rock.

The rest of the sailors were at no great distance, but fatigue rendered them unable to afford me any assistance. Makaroff still lay stretched upon the ground, and Mr. Chlebnikoff was labouring to climb the rock at another point. Having remained in this dreadful situation for several minutes, my hand began to smart severely, and I

was on the point of ending my sufferings by precipitating myself into the gulf, more than a hundred fathoms beneath me—when Makaroff, suddenly recovering, beheld my situation, and hastened to my assistance. He rested his foot upon a stone which projected from the rock under my breast, and with one hand grasped a branch of the tree! With my hand, which was free, I then seized his girdle, and by a great effort on his part, I was drawn to the top of the rock. We were no sooner both safe, than Makaroff again fell down in a state of insensibility. Had either the stone or the branch of the tree given way, we must both have been precipitated to the bottom, and have perished.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Chlebnikoff had climbed to the middle of the rock, when such obstacles presented themselves, that he could neither move backwards nor forwards. The sailors immediately tied together the sashes they wore as girdles, and having lowered one end until he was enabled to take hold of it, drew him from his perilous situation.

We rested for a short time on the top of this rock, and then proceeded to ascend the next hill, on the summit of which we perceived, in the distance, an earthen hut, or something resembling one, which we supposed would afford a convenient shelter for the night. Before sunset we reached the summit of this hill, one of the highest in

Matsmai; it was overgrown with reeds, between which the snow lay very deep, and only a few scattered trees were to be seen. Contrary to our expectations, we found no earthen hut; but we were convinced we were now secure, as the Japanese would not look for us in that terrific spot. We immediately kindled a fire, and prepared a supper, consisting of wild garlic and sorrel, which we had gathered on the banks of the river through which we had that day (April 25th) waded. We likewise dried our clothes, which were completely soaked; as the water had in many places been more than knee deep. Towards night we collected some reeds and built a hut.

Having eaten heartily of boiled herbs and a portion of our store of provisions, we laid ourselves down to rest, as night had already set in. In consequence of the extreme fatigue we had undergone, we quickly fell asleep. My repose was not, however, of long duration; being oppressed by the excessive heat of our hut, I awoke and walked out into the open air. I leant myself against a tree near the hut, and the majestic image of nature which I then beheld excited all my admiration. The sky was clear, and numerous black clouds were floating around the nearest hills. It probably rained in the plains. The snow glistened on the tops of the mountans in the distance; I never saw the stars shine with such brilliancy as on that night; a deadly stillness prevailed around me.

But this sublime spectacle vanished, when I suddenly recollected our situation, which now presented itself to my mind in all its horrors. Six men on the summit of one of the highest mountains in Matsmai, without clothing, provisions, or even arms, by the help of which we might have obtained something to save us from starvation, and surrounded by enemies and wild beasts*, wandering over a strange island, uncertain whether or not we should succeed in gaining possession of a vessel; and I in a state of lameness which occasioned the severest agony at every step. To reflect on so helpless a condition, was indeed to be verging on despair! In the meanwhile some of my companions also awoke, and their sighs and prayers served only to increase my distress. I forgot my own misfortunes, and shed bitter tears for their unhappy fate. In this situation I remained for upwards of an hour, when the cold forced me again to take refuge in the hut; I stretched myself upon the ground, but to sleep was impossible.

We arose at daybreak, (on the 26th of April) kindled a fire, cooked some wild garlic and sorrel, eat our breakfast, and then continued our journey. We now resolved no longer to climb the hills, but

* The forests of Matsmai are inhabited by bears, wolves, foxes, hares, stags and wild goats. There are, likewise, some sables to be found on this island, but their fur is of a reddish colour, and consequently of little value. The bears are uncommonly fierce, and attack men as well as other animals.

to pursue our course along the banks of a little stream which flowed in a westerly direction, and then to turn towards the north, to await on the sea-shore an opportunity of getting on board a vessel. We descended into a deep valley below the hill, and directed our course towards the west, along the side of the stream. But the road we had chosen was by no means an easy one. The stream frequently flowed with violence between narrow cliffs of rocks, which we could not pass without the greatest difficulty and danger. The least slip of the foot would have plunged us into the water, and we should have been carried down by the current and dashed to pieces against some of the projecting masses of rock. In addition to this, we were compelled at every quarter of a mile, and even at shorter distances, to wade across the rivulet, as the banks on one side were frequently so steep, that it was impossible to walk along them. Whenever we found it necessary to cross from one side to the other, we, of course, chose those parts in which the water was shallow and flowed with little violence; but we frequently found it, even with the assistance of poles, difficult to resist the force of the current. The depth of the stream was various, sometimes reaching to our knees, and at other times above our waists.

Having travelled in this way to some distance, we discovered on the banks of the rivulet several empty huts, which, during the summer season,

had been inhabited by wood-cutters and coal-burners. We entered them and searched for provisions, but we found only an old hatchet and a chisel, both completely covered with rust, and two lackered cups which we carried away. The day was clear and excessively warm; we therefore resolved, though the sun had not yet set behind the hills, to pass the night in one of the huts, in which, we found a stove for making charcoal. We were afraid to kindle a blazing fire, lest it should be perceived by the Japanese; we, however, made one sufficiently large to roast some wild garlic, lysimachia and sorrel, and to dry our clothes. We then lay down to rest in the hut, of which one half of the roof had fallen in, so that we slept as it were, in the open air. The night was extremely cold, but from this, we did not suffer much inconvenience, as we lay among straw, with which, we completely covered ourselves.

On the following morning, the 27th of April, we took our usual breakfast, and pursued our course along the banks of the river. Having proceeded about two miles, we discovered a hut, from the roof of which, smoke was issuing. To attack the poor inhabitants, would have been an unprovoked act of cruelty, and we, besides, thought it imprudent to shew ourselves, lest they should give our pursuers information respecting us. We, therefore, ascended a hill which was covered with thickets, and proceeded westward. We then de-

ended by a footpath into a valley, where, at noon, we seated ourselves by the side of a little brook, and eat some beans and rice. On reaching the summit of another hill, we observed various roads leading to the sea-side. The hills in this part of the island were entirely barren, without either bushes or high grass, and crossed by paths in various directions. The weather was so extremely clear, that we observed a dog running along a footpath on a distant hill. It seemed imprudent to advance, as owing to our number and size, the Japanese might easily have recognised us, and yet we were unwilling to lose time. Our object was to reach the coast by the evening, and after having taken a little rest, to proceed along the shore during the night. We therefore resolved to advance separately, stooping down, and keeping a strict watch on every side. We accordingly turned back about the distance of a mile, and reached a hill somewhat lower than the rest; but, here we were still in danger; for it would have been easy to see us from the high-way which lay along the shore; we therefore sat down among the grass and deliberated on the most prudent mode of proceeding. At that moment, we discovered a party of soldiers on horseback, who were galloping along a footpath, in a direction towards us, we crept immediately into a hollow, and hid ourselves among the bushes, with which it was on both sides covered, and the soldiers rode past without perceiving us. We were

now convinced of the danger of proceeding across the hills, for had we not been sitting down at the moment, the soldiers were riding up the hill, we should doubtless have been discovered and taken.

The valley in which we had concealed ourselves, was watered by a small brook, the bed of which was dirty and filled with decayed roots and leaves. We stirred up the mud, and found some small crabs about half an inch in length, which were indeed calculated rather to excite disgust, than to provoke appetite; but we eat them with as much pleasure, as if they had been the most exquisite dainties. Having sat about an hour in the valley, we resolved to advance in it as long as we should find bushes capable of concealing us, and to endeavour to regain the hills by some other road. The valley led straight towards the sea. We walked on for upwards of a mile, and came to a spot which could be seen from various roads. We therefore seated ourselves amidst shrubs and reeds. There we found several fine young trees, some of which we cut down to make pikes, fastening our knife to one, the chissel to another, and merely cutting the ends of others into sharp points with the hatchet which we had found in the hut, and with which one of the sailors was armed. Whilst we were busy at this work, we suddenly heard the sound of voices approaching us. They appeared to proceed from some persons on the other side of the valley. Mr. Chlebnikoff, who, at this time

was seated the highest up of any of us, saw a number of working people pass by, among whom were several women.

When it began to grow dark, we resumed our journey, and at night reached the shore, along which, we proceeded in a northerly direction.* We had, however, scarcely advanced to the distance of a werst, when we unexpectedly found ourselves in front of a village, which was built beside a steep rock, a circumstance which accounted for our not having sooner perceived it. We immediately halted, fearing to proceed lest guards might be stationed in the village; but finding that the rock was extremely high, and difficult to climb, we resolved at all hazards to venture onwards. We succeeded in passing unperceived; even the dogs never once barked at us. We found here, two boats which were good in their kind, but too small for our purpose, and we proceeded in the hope of falling in with some larger vessels.

This occurrence afforded us much satisfaction. We were convinced that the villages were not all

* I cannot state with any precision at what distance from the city we reached the shore. Whilst we were ascending and descending the hills, we frequently found it necessary to take a lateral direction, and even to turn back, by which means we made but little progress, though we had passed over considerable spaces of ground. From the situation of two small uninhabited islands which we observed on looking towards the shore, and which we had before seen at Matsmai, we concluded that we were about twenty-five wersts from the city.

so strictly guarded as we had supposed. In the course of the night we passed with equal boldness through one or two other villages, near which we saw several boats, but they were all too small; besides, the road along the shore was not so passable and good as we had at first supposed. There was a large plain between the hills and the beach, which was frequently intersected by hollows, through which streams and brooks flowed from the hills into the sea. When the direct course towards the sea was obstructed by perpendicular rocks, the road passed along the plain through the hollows, in which the ascent and descent* were very steep, and exceedingly difficult. We frequently lost the footpaths, particularly in the valleys, where the soil was usually composed of gravel and sand, and we sometimes knew not how to get out of them. We often spent whole hours in searching for the road, and when we did not succeed in finding it, we were compelled to climb the heights in the dark, with the greatest difficulty and danger. There was in general no trace of footsteps left among the sand in the hollows, and we

* Owing to the numerous mountains, the Japanese never employ carriages, either in Matsmai or any other of the Kurile Islands. All burdens are either conveyed by water, or on the backs of horses or oxen. The officers and persons of distinction, travel in litters and sedan-chairs, and others on horseback. There are, therefore, no proper roads, but merely footpaths, which, on the hills, for the convenience of the horses, are made to wind in various directions.

were obliged to go forward trusting to chance for finding an outlet; but, we frequently found our progress stopped by rocks, which it was necessary to avoid by making a circuit, or, to attempt to surmount at the risk of breaking our necks.

At daybreak, on the 28th of April, we again turned back to the mountains, where we proposed to remain during the day. When the sun had fully risen, we found ourselves upon a high hill, which was totally barren, and consequently afforded us no means of concealment. We at length, however, discovered some bushes in a hollow, and tearing up others from different places, we fixed them into the ground, and crept in beneath them. Unfortunately, there was neither water nor snow upon this hill, and we suffered excessively from thirst. On the other side of the hollow and opposite to us, was a path leading to a wood, along which, we frequently observed men and packhorses going backwards and forwards, and saw them so plainly, that, had the former been our acquaintances, we should have found no difficulty in recognising them. They did not observe us, though a glance directed towards that part of the hollow in which we had taken refuge, would inevitably have betrayed us.

We were busily employed during the whole of this day. We stitched our shirts together for the purpose of forming two sails, and made all the necessary appurtenances out of the ropes and pieces

of woollen cloth, which we had carried off with us. There was a village at no great distance from our hiding-place, and as evening approached, we observed that one of the vessels which were sailing along the coast, anchored near it. We resolved, therefore, in case the wind should prove favorable to board the vessel that very night.

At sunset we descended the hill, and proceeded towards the shore; but as we approached the vessel, we heard a noise and the sound of voices on board. We, therefore, withdrew, intending to wait until the dead of the night before we attempted the execution of our enterprise; but we soon discovered that the vessel was weighing anchor, and that the noise was occasioned by that labour. Our design was therefore frustrated, and we pursued our course along the shore.

We had this night many more obstacles to contend with than on the preceding. The hollows were more numerous and deeper, and we frequently found it necessary to wade through streams. Towards midnight, we arrived at a village of considerable size. We at first wished to pass along the principal street, but we found it extremely long, and we, besides, heard the guards striking the hour with their boards. We then proposed going round the outside of the village, but the kitchen gardens were so large, that we must have made a very considerable circuit; we, therefore, proceeded across the gardens,

and left traces of our footsteps behind us, which must have been remarkable on account of their size.* On the shore we observed several large fires, and at first were at a loss to conjecture what was meant by them. We imagined they were intended as watch-fires for the soldiers, but we soon discovered that they were signals for the vessels which were sailing past the coast, for they were lighted up immediately upon lanterns being hoisted on board the ships.

On the 29th of April, the morning dawn drove us to the adjoining heights. At sunrise we found ourselves on the summit of a high and barren hill, which afforded us no place of refuge. We perceived on every side foot-paths, along which the inhabitants passed from the villages to the forests. We, therefore, turned to the opposite side, and entered a deep woody valley, in which there was a brook: we seated ourselves in a concealed place, and kindled a fire to dry our clothes and warm us, for the weather was extremely cold and windy; and having gathered some wild

* We found it inconvenient to wear the Japanese shoes, and requested that we might be furnished with leather, as one of the sailors, who understood the shoe-making business, could make boots for us. The Japanese gave us sea-dog's skin for the legs, and the hide of bear's heads for the soles. Out of these materials, Simanoff made a kind of peasant's boots, called Siberian torbasses. They were extremely large, and the traces of our sailors' footsteps were twice the size of those of the Japanese. It might, therefore, easily be guessed who imprinted the marks we left behind us.

garlic and water-angelica, we cooked and eat it. These herbs were, however, none of the most palatable, and without the addition of other food, such as a handful of beans or rice, we could not possibly have eaten them. I lost all appetite, though I drank considerable quantities of water wherever it was to be found. We now began to consider how we should furnish ourselves with provisions; and our situation rendered it necessary that we should search for a convenient place in the forest, where we might repose and recover our strength, which, owing to want of sustenance, and excessive fatigue, was nearly exhausted. Unfortunately for us, the hills at a certain distance from the shore were completely barren*; and, at every three versts, there were villages, whose inhabitants were, during the day, continually going backward and forward to the forest. In the day-

* On the eastern side of Matsmai, the coast is covered, to the very margin of the sea, with wood, and we concluded it would be the same on the western side. But we found, on the contrary, that from the shore to the centre of the island, the woods were almost all cut down for the sake of procuring fire-wood and coal. The Japanese consume great quantities of wood and charcoal, as they have no stoves, and keep fires constantly burning on the hearths. As the winter is both severe and of long duration, the extensive population renders a great supply of coal and wood necessary. The scarcity of wood on the hills on the western side of Matsmai, proves that the Japanese must have first established themselves on that part of the island, and have afterwards extended themselves to the East. The city of Matsmai is supposed to be four hundred years old.

time, it was, therefore, impossible to conceal ourselves close to the shore, and we were obliged, before sun-rise, to hasten across the hills into the forest, and when night approached again to direct our weary steps towards the sea. When we reached the beach, we were usually so overcome with fatigue, that we were scarcely able to move along. We wished to procure a supply of provisions, but we determined that nothing but the most urgent necessity should induce us to resort to measures of violence, which might irritate the Japanese, and give them reason to guard their coasts more strictly. Our great object was to obtain, as speedily as possible, possession of a vessel, confident that it would, according to the Japanese custom, be plentifully supplied with provisions and fresh water. We likewise resolved, when we should be passing through the villages, to search for the spot where the Japanese lay out their fish to dry, or, if possible, to catch two or three horses in the fields, carry them into the forest and kill them and live upon their flesh.

At sunset, we quitted our hiding-place, and proceeded, as usual, to grope our way to the coast. The obstacles which we before had to contend with were now increased; the valleys were deeper than any we had hitherto met with, the rivulets flowed with violence, and in wading through them the water frequently rose above our waists: in

addition to this, the rain poured in torrents, so that we found it impossible to lie down on the grass to rest.

We this night encountered two adventures. Close to the shore, at some distance from us, we beheld a flame, which, however, suddenly vanished at our approach. On reaching the spot where we had seen it, we discovered an extremely high rock, but neither hole nor hut from which flame could have issued. It was, perhaps, merely the effect of illusion.

We now descended into a deep valley, whence we had to ascend to the level summit of a hill, by a steep, winding, and well beaten foot path, when we met with an accident which not a little distressed us. Mr. Chlebnikoff slipped his foot and fell into a hole. We once heard him stop, but he again rolled further down, and at length we knew not what had become of him. He returned no answer to our questions, and we dared not call loudly, as there were villages within hearing of us. The night was so extremely dark, that no object could be recognized at the distance of ten paces. We tied our girdles together, and fastening the one end about Wassiljeff, let him down into the hole into which Mr. Chlebnikoff had fallen. We lowered him gradually as far as the length of our united sashes would admit, and then drew him up again. Wassiljeff informed us, that, notwithstanding the depth to which he had descended, he could

not discover the extent of the hole; and that he called Mr. Chlebnikoff, but received no answer. We, therefore, resolved to remain on the spot until day-light, and then to lower another of our party into the hole, to ascertain whether Mr. Chlebnikoff was yet living.

We remained, for two hours, in a state of the most painful uncertainty respecting the fate of our worthy companion. We at length heard a rustling among the grass, and, on looking round, to our astonishment, beheld Mr. Chlebnikoff. He had first rolled down about two fathoms from the surface, when something stopped him, and he endeavoured to climb up again; he, however, slipped a second time, and fell perpendicularly into a pit, to the depth of four fathoms. Fortunately, there were no stones at the bottom of the pit, but he was, notwithstanding, severely bruised.* He, at length, succeeded in climbing up the side of the hole, and reached the spot where he surprised us by his unexpected appearance. After having rested for a short time, he again accompanied us on our journey, although he felt severe pain in every part of his body.

Even now, I never look back, without horror, upon the frightful gulphs and huge rocks of Matsmai, and millions of money would not tempt me to travel over them again, even in the open day.

* Mr. Chlebnikoff has not yet recovered from the effects of this fall.

Whilst we were ascending steep eminences, and beheld beneath us on every side nothing but masses of rock and torrents, we were frequently obliged to hold by small bushes, without being certain whether they might not be too weak or decayed. Had any of them given way, those who were trusting to their feeble support must have been precipitated into the abyss below, and dashed to pieces. A loose stone projecting from a rock was frequently our only reliance. But Heaven watched over us, and excepting Mr. Chlebnikoff's fall, no serious accident occurred. Our desperate situation made us disregard every danger. We climbed up the steepest rocks without ever thinking on death, and with as much indifference as if we had been proceeding along a level road. My only wish was, in case an accident should occur to me, that it might be a decisive one, that my fall might be from such an immense height, as would put a speedy end to my suffering.

Before sunrise on the 30th of April, we proceeded towards the hills, and entered a wood, where we stationed ourselves not far from the road. We dared not kindle a fire, though we should have found it extremely acceptable, for the rain, which still continued with violence, had soaked our clothes completely through. We lay down close to each other, and covered ourselves over with our sails. In the course of the day, my companions ate some portion of their store of provisions, but

I had lost all appetite for food, though I still suffered severely from thirst.

When night set in we again directed our course towards the shore. In all the villages through which we passed we neither found a good boat nor saw any fish laid out to dry. Either the fishing season had not commenced, or the fish had been removed into houses during the night. We saw several horses in the fields, and endeavoured to catch one, but they were all so extremely wild that we found it impossible. This night we descended down the side of a steep hill, for the purpose of proceeding to the shore; we had, however, scarcely got half way, when we found that we were advancing straight upon a village. In the dark we missed the footpath, and mistook a heap of straw for a part of the declivity. We had no sooner set our feet upon it than we rolled down, and unexpectedly found ourselves in front of a house and barn. A dog rushed out upon us, but we calmly proceeded on our way, though we were doubtless observed by two men who came out with lanterns.

We all suffered severely from thirst, and never passed a brook without taking hearty draughts of water. But immediately after I drank water, I felt myself affected with nausea, and the saliva flowed from my mouth. In the course of half an hour, however, I was usually so overcome with thirst, that on hearing the murmuring of a rivulet at a

distance, I promised myself a speedy relief, and redoubled my pace in order to reach it quickly, but as soon as I had taken a draught of water the nausea returned, and I was thus alternately a martyr to thirst and sickness, and could eat nothing.

On the first of May we rested on a declivity, by the side of a rivulet, in a thick wood, near which there was a village built on a sandy point of land. We saw several horsemen and foot passengers cross the stream, on the outside of the wood, and people passing along a road near us.

We were, therefore, obliged to remain the whole day without fire. At night we again departed, but as we met several men with lanterns, we were obliged to hide ourselves behind the trees until they passed by. On approaching close to a village we heard the hours striking, and, of course, were pretty certain that the place had a guard of soldiers, who, as it was not perfectly dark, might discover us: we, therefore, determined to halt. In the meantime we observed a mare tied to a tree, in a meadow near the village. We determined to carry her off, and had already cut the rope, when a foal suddenly sprang up, ran about, and neighed loudly. We found it impossible to catch it, and were obliged to run off and leave the mare behind, lest the noise should alarm the Japanese. We returned a short time afterwards, recollecting that the milk of the mare would be extremely acceptable

to us; but the sailor, who set about milking her, received so severe a kick, that we thought it prudent to have nothing more to do with her.

When it grew darker we proceeded along the strand, and came close to a village, from which the dogs rushed out upon us. We were afraid lest the barking of these animals should attract the attention of the Japanese, who would immediately have perceived us, and we, accordingly, sat down behind a heap of sand. The dogs then stood still and growled, but no sooner did we attempt to rise than they flew at us, and by their barking compelled us to resume our station. We were thus obliged to remain in the same spot for the space of half an hour, the dogs having by that time left us; we started up and passed through the village without any further interruption.

Soon after, as we were passing through another village, we observed a boat in the water, close to the shore, and a tent near it. We advanced to inspect the boat, but Schkajeff, hoping to find something eatable in the tent, thrust in his hand, and grasped the head of a man who was sleeping there. The man roared out loudly, and fearing that the noise might alarm the inhabitants of the village, and being, besides, uncertain whether the boat would contain us all, we ran off and concealed ourselves behind some stones. After a short time we dispatched two of our party to take a survey of the boat, but there was a man seated in it, who was

looking round him on every side: we, therefore, thought it best to depart.

Before we reached the other extremity of this village, we observed a large boat which had been dragged ashore as far as the houses. On examination we found that it was well adapted to our purpose, but it was so far from the water that we despaired of getting it afloat, and we therefore proceeded onwards. We soon after discovered, under a shed on the shore, a very large boat: it was without sails*, but was furnished with every other necessary appurtenance, and had even small buckets, in which we might have laid in a supply of fresh water. The wind and weather were moreover favourable. Unfortunately, however, the boat lay with one side towards the water, and we must consequently have turned it in order to get it afloat, but to accomplish this object we found our strength insufficient. Had either the head or the stern been towards the water we would soon have launched it; and after carrying off a supply of provisions from one of the houses, would have put to sea. But this was impossible; we therefore contented ourselves with merely taking a watering pot which we found in the boat, and which we thought would serve us to drink out of.

The approach of the morning drove us once more among the hills. Day-light, however, sur-

* We had sails along with us.

prised us on the side of a barren mountain, covered only, here and there, with a few bushes. We beheld foot-paths on every side, and villages along the shore, as far as our eyes could see. A thick forest, in which we might have concealed ourselves, lay at such a distance, that it would have taken us a long time to reach it, we were, therefore, obliged to lie down under the bushes around us. The day being fine, we dried our clothes, and deliberated on new plans of escape. We were well aware that we could obtain provisions only by forcible means, and that, after having committed violence, we should no longer be in safety, as the Japanese would doubtless redouble their vigilance, and station guards along the coast; all chance, therefore, of getting on board a vessel would have been entirely at an end. We thought it a more adviseable scheme to gain possession of a couple of fishing-boats, which were to be met with at every point along the shore, and to row to a small island covered with wood, which lay between twenty-five and thirty wersts from the coast, and which, when we were at Matsmai we had heard was uninhabited. We might there build a convenient hut, kindle fire when we pleased, and during the day gather, without danger of detection, shell-fish and sea weeds for our support. It would thus be very easy for us to wait until an opportunity presented itself, in calm weather, of boarding a loaded vessel sailing past the island. This was a part of our plan, which we were of opinion could

be executed without difficulty, as during the three days we had been on this part of the coast, we had observed that all vessels and boats passed between the island and the coast of Matsmai, and it appeared always stood near the island; we were besides aware, that in the summer calms very frequently occur in those seas. If this project should fail we still might, during the summer, when the wind is never violent, and almost always blowing from the east, trust to the fishing-boats for carrying us to the coast of Tartary, which is about four hundred and six wersts distant from Matsmai.

But while we were framing plans for our deliverance, an adverse fate was preparing for us. We saw people walking backwards and forwards on the foot-paths by which we were surrounded. but it did not appear that we were observed by them. At length, on a hill at some distance, Mr. Chlebnikoff perceived a woman who frequently pointed to the place in which we were, and turned round on every side, beckoning with her hand, as if calling on persons to approach her. We soon understood that these signs concerned us, and we descended into a hollow in the hope of escaping through it into the heart of the forest. Before, however, we reached the bottom of the hollow, we found it suddenly surrounded by men, who hastened to the spot from every side, on foot and on horseback. The moment they discovered us they

raised a frightful cry. Makaroff and I fled to a part covered with bushes, and soon succeeded in getting out of sight; but we could not venture to move farther off, and lay down to wait for our companions, and observe the number of our enemies, and how they were armed. Our first supposition was, that they were country people; but, to our astonishment, we found that they were soldiers, headed by an officer on horseback. They were armed with muskets, and bows and arrows, in addition to their sabres and daggers. Our companions were immediately surrounded, and compelled to surrender. From between the bushes we saw the Japanese bind their hands behind their backs, and, after enquiring respecting Makaroff and me, lead them towards the shore.

Meanwhile more Japanese had assembled, and a search for us was commenced. Makaroff now asked how we should proceed. Perhaps, said I, the Japanese may not discover us to day; and, when it is dark, we may find our way to the shore, get into a boat, row to the uninhabited island, and from thence to the coast of Tartary. But where were our sails, our tea-kettle, our tinder-box, and the knife! Those things were with our companions, and all had now fallen into the hands of the Japanese. We had only two pikes; mine mounted with the chissel, and Makaroff's with a small knife. Nevertheless, I proposed to my companion, that, in case we succeeded in eluding the search of the Japanese, we should look out for a

fishing-boat on the coast, and supply ourselves, by force, with whatever was necessary for our expedition. This was resolved upon.

From the thicket in which we sat, we saw soldiers and peasants searching about for us on both sides of the hollow. At length four soldiers advanced into the centre, two armed with sabres, and two with pikes. The rest ranged themselves in rows on each side of the hollow, and held their muskets and bows and arrows in readiness. Those who approached us thrust their pikes into every bush capable of hiding a dog; and, at last, came direct upon the one in which we were concealed. When they had advanced pretty near us, Makaroff, who observed me seizing my pike, entreated, with tears, that I would not attempt to defend myself, or kill any of the Japanese, as such a proceeding might prove highly injurious to the rest of our companions. He further observed, that I might, perhaps, be the means of saving all their lives if I delivered myself up to the Japanese, and declared that as I, who was their commander, had ordered them to attempt their escape, they were bound to do so; lest, they should ever chance to return to Russia, where they would be severely punished for disobedience. These words made so deep an impression on me, that I immediately struck my pike in the ground, rose and stepped out of the bush. Makaroff followed me. The Japanese were filled with amazement at our unexpected appearance. They started

back when they first beheld us, but finding that we were unarmed, they advanced boldly, seized us, bound our hands slightly behind our backs, and conducted us to a village on the shore. Our guards never permitted themselves to offer us the slightest insult or ill-treatment of any kind; on the contrary, when they observed that I limped, and walked with pain, two of the soldiers took me by the arms, and assisted me in ascending the hill, and passing over slippery places. When we arrived at the village, they led us into a house where we found our companions.

Here they gave us sagi, boiled rice, salted herrings, radishes, and finally tea. Our hands were then tied behind us; but there was no repetition of the severity which we had experienced at Kunaschier. Having spent about an hour in the village, we proceeded along the shore, under a strong escort, on our return to Matsmai. We observed that the Japanese had fixed small stakes in the ground, in every place marked by our footsteps, during our nightly wanderings. Where we had turned to ascend the hills they lost all traces of us, but recognised our course again among the sand. It was evident that they had continually followed us*, but had avoided seizing us lest we might have

* We were afterwards informed by the Japanese themselves, that they constantly traced our footsteps, and frequently gained sight of us. They described accurately enough the places at which we had stopped to rest, where we drank water, &c. We could not, however, learn for what reason they did not endeavour to arrest us.

made a desperate resistance, and killed some of their party: perhaps other reasons also induced them to forbear attacking us.

When we passed through villages, the inhabitants flocked from all sides to look at us; but to the honour of the Japanese it ought to be observed, that not one of them treated us with any thing like derision or mockery; they all seemed to commiserate us, and some of the women even shed tears whilst they presented us with something to eat or drink. Such was the expression of feeling among a people, whom enlightened Europe has regarded as barbarians! However, the chief of our escort shewed us none of that benevolent kindness which we had before experienced from other Japanese officers. For instance, we were obliged to walk though we might as well have rode on horseback; we were not carried across the brooks and rivulets, as before, but were desired to wade through them; and, instead of being provided with umbrellas, mats were thrown over us to protect us from the rain. In several of the villages through which we passed, we expressed a wish to remain for the whole day; but we were hurried away, after having rested only a short time. We were provided with boiled rice, muscles or herrings, and tea without sugar. We were all excessively fatigued, but I particularly suffered. Owing to the pain in my foot, I could proceed only at a very slow pace; the chief of the escort, therefore, directed that two

soldiers should support me by the arms, and that they should be regularly relieved in performing that duty. This order was executed with the strictest punctuality. If, during our journey, we complained of thirst, we were permitted to stop and drink water at the first brook we came to. During the night, which was extremely dark, we were led, one behind the other, with the greatest caution, and a lantern was carried before each of us, as well as before the Japanese chief. In addition to this, men bearing lanterns preceded and followed the escort. When we had to ascend, or descend steep hills, a number of country people who accompanied us from the neighbouring villages proceeded before us. Each carried a large bundle of straw; those bundles were laid down at dangerous parts of the road, and when we approached, set on fire; so that we enjoyed, for a moment, a light as bright as day. Had a European viewed, from a distance, our nocturnal procession, he would, doubtless, have supposed he beheld the obsequies of a person of high rank.

On the following day, the 3d of May, as we entered a little village, about ten wersts from Matsmai, we met one of the chief officers of the city, and our interpreter Teske, accompanied by a detachment of imperial soldiers. We immediately halted. The officer said not a word, and manifested neither anger nor displeasure. Teske, however, reproached us for having attempted to

escape, and began to search us. One of the sailors told him, that he might spare himself the trouble since he would find nothing; upon which he replied, "I know very well that I shall find nothing upon you, but the Japanese laws require that you should be searched." In this village, the officer and soldiers who had taken us put on their state uniforms, over which they threw mantles, because it rained. On coming near the town, however, they took of their mantles, and the order of the procession being arranged, we advanced at a slow pace. The concourse of people was very great. Owing to the rain, all the spectators carried umbrellas over their heads, so that they presented a most singular spectacle. Our escort proceeded in the following order: two guides on each side, bearing wooden staves; behind them nine soldiers strutting along, with their muskets on their shoulders; we followed one after the other, guarded on each side by soldiers; behind us were nine soldiers with muskets, one after the other; and last of all, the officer who arrested us on horseback. He wore a rich silken dress, and looked down on the multitude that lined both sides of the road, like a proud conqueror who had earned laurels, and laid claim to the admiration and gratitude of his countrymen.

We were conducted directly to the castle. Formerly we had been permitted to enter the court-yard with our hats on; but we were now directed to uncover as soon as we reached the gate.

We sat down on benches in the anti-room leading to the Hall of Justice, where boiled rice, pickled radishes, and tea, without sugar, were handed to us. At length, we were conducted into the Hall of Justice, where, in a few moments, Mr. Moor and Alexei entered, and were directed to station themselves at some distance from us.

All the officers having taken their places, the Bunyo entered. No change was perceptible in his countenance, he maintained his accustomed cheerfulness, and expressed not the slightest displeasure at our conduct. Having taken his seat, he enquired, in his usual benevolent manner, what had induced us to try to escape? I requested the interpreter to state to the Bunyo, that, before I answered his question, I wished to inform him that I alone was guilty, and had forced the rest to fly with me, which they were obliged to do, for a refusal to obey my orders would render them liable to severe punishment should they ever return to Russia. I further declared, that they might put me to death, but that it would be unjust to injure a hair of the head of any of my companions. The Bunyo replied, that if the Japanese thought fit to put me to death, they would do so without any suggestion on my part, but that if, on the contrary, they did not see the necessity of such a proceeding, all my entreaties would be of no avail.

The Bunyo repeated his question—I declared

that we had fled because we saw no probability of our being set at liberty, but that every thing tended to convince us that the Japanese meant to keep us in perpetual imprisonment.—"Who told you that?" said the Bunyo, "I never gave you reason to suppose that your confinement would be eternal."—"The orders," I replied, "which were received from the capital, directing that all Russian vessels should be seized, and the preparations which were made in consequence of that order, augured nothing favorable to us."—Who informed you of that?"—"We learned it from Teske."—The Bunyo then addressed himself to Teske, but what he said we could not comprehend; we, however, observed, that Teske, during his replies, frequently changed colour.

The Bunyo had hitherto addressed his questions to me alone; but he now asked Mr. Chlebnikoff and the sailors, what motives had induced them to escape?—They replied, that they had merely followed the directions which I, who was their commander, had given them. On hearing this, Mr. Moor laughed, and said they were no more bound to obey my orders than he, and might have remained behind if they had chosen. He called the sailors blockheads, and assured the Japanese that for prisoners to make their escape was a thing unknown in Europe. The Japanese, however, seemed to pay but little attention to what Mr. Moor said, and proceeded to enquire by what

means we had effected our escape. They desired to be informed of every particular, at what hour and in what manner we had left the house; what course we had pursued;* how far we proceeded each day; what articles and provisions we had carried off with us; and, finally, whether any of our guards or attendants had assisted us in our escape, or whether we had made our intention known to any Japanese whatever. We answered all these questions by a faithful relation of the whole affair.

The Bunyo then wished to know how long we had entertained this resolution, and how long we had imagined it possible to carry it into effect. Mr. Moor now turned towards the sailors, and exhorted them to tell the truth as they would before God, since he had already disclosed every thing to the Japanese. Independently of this admonition, we entertained no design to conceal any circumstance; we, however, observed that, notwithstanding Mr. Moor's exhortations to the sailors, he had not adhered very strictly to the truth in giving an account of our deliberations and plans, nor even in relating the projects which he had himself formed. He had represented that his consent to escape with us was merely a pretence in order that he might detect our plans, and, by disclosing them to the Japanese, perform a service

* We were obliged to trace a plan, representing the situation of our house, and that part of the town through which we passed on leaving it.

to the Bunyo. He stated that, as far as regarded himself, he would submit to the will of the Emperor of Japan; if he obtained permission to return to his native country, he would immediately depart; if not, he was ready to remain in Japan. When the Bunyo afterwards inquired who had written a letter, which had been addressed to him, concerning Alexei?—Mr. Moor replied, that he had written it; but, immediately recollecting himself, he added, that he had merely done so in conformity to my orders.—At this answer, the Japanese themselves smiled.

The Bunyo then asked what had been our object in escaping? We replied, that we wished to return to our native country. "But by what means did you expect to execute this design?" "We intended to get on board a large boat, and to sail from Matsmai to the Russian Kurile Islands or to the coast of Tartary." "Did you not think it probable that, after your escape, orders would be issued for keeping a strict watch on all vessels near the coast?" "Yes, that we expected would be the case; but after a certain time should have elapsed, we hoped to execute our enterprise at some point from whence our escape would be least suspected."

"You must have observed," continued the Bunyo, "during your first conveyance hither, as well as during the walks which you were permitted to take, that Matsmai is covered with high hills; you must have been aware of the difficulty of

crossing these hills, and that the populous villages, which lie almost close to each other along the shore, must have precluded the possibility of your escaping; the whole plan was indeed ill-contrived and childish."—"Notwithstanding this," I replied, "we spent six nights on the coast, and passed through several villages without being perceived. Our enterprise was, indeed, extremely desperate, and to the Japanese may appear childish; we, however, thought otherwise. Our situation was an excuse for any hazardous attempt; we saw no other means of returning to our homes: to waste our lives in eternal imprisonment was the only prospect to which we could look forward, we therefore resolved to perish, either at sea or in the forests of Matsmai."—"It was unnecessary to go to the forests or to the sea to end your lives, you might, if you pleased, have terminated them here!" "That would have been self-murder, but when we risked our lives for the sake of recovering our liberty, we threw ourselves on the protection of Heaven, and might hope to gain our object."

"Suppose you had succeeded, what would you have said of the Japanese when you returned to Russia?" "All that we have seen and heard among them; without either adding or concealing any circumstances whatever."

"Had you returned to Russia without Mr. Moor, your Emperor surely would not have approved of your conduct in leaving one of your

companions behind you." "Had Mr. Moor been in a state of ill-health which rendered him unable to accompany us, notwithstanding his inclination to do so, our conduct would indeed have been most unmanly, but he wished to remain in Japan of his own free will."

"Did you know that, if you had succeeded in your project, the governor and several other officers must have answered for your escape with their lives?"—"We supposed that the guards might, as is the custom in Europe, have suffered some punishment; but we never could have imagined that the Japanese laws were so severe as to condemn innocent men to death."—Here Mr. Moor assured the Bunyo that we were very well aware of the existence of such a law since he had himself explained it to us. We replied that Moor had indeed mentioned something of the kind; but that our European ideas of Justice, pevented us from giving credit to what he said, and we looked upon it merely as a fabrication which he had invented for the purpose of dissuading us from our design.*

* We actually doubted the existence of this law. We had heard that the Japanese Government dismissed a Bunyo after the attack of the company's ships, notwithstanding the great distance between the coast where the depredations were committed, and the place of his residence, and the little reason he had to suspect such measures on the part of the Russians; but we never could have supposed that the governor and several officers must have forfeited their lives because we made our escape. We were, however, afterwards convinced that such really was the law.

"Is there," inquired the Bunyo, "any European law by which prisoners are justified in making their escape?"—"There is no written law to that effect; but when a prisoner has not pledged his parole of honour, he is never considered culpable in making his escape."—Upon this, Mr. Moor made some observations, calculated to render our answer ridiculous, and he even assured the Japanese that we had made a false assertion. We called to his recollection, the cases of General Beresford, Colonel Pack, Sir Sydney Smith, and other individuals; who, within our own recollection, had escaped from imprisonment without any disgrace being attached to them; but Mr. Moor continued his forced laughter, and even said that no such examples had ever existed.

The Bunyo then delivered a long speech, the substance of which, according to the translation of our interpreter was as follows: "Had you been natives of Japan, and secretly escaped from your prison, the consequence might have been fatal to you; but as you are foreigners and ignorant of the Japanese laws, and more particularly as you did not escape with a view to injure the Japanese, but for the sake of returning to your native country, which it is natural you should prefer to every other, our good opinion of you remains unaltered. The Bunyo cannot be answerable for the way in which the government may view your conduct; but he will still continue to exert all his endeavours to gain permission for you to return to

Russia. Until your case be decided according to the Japanese laws; the sailors must be confined in a prison: but you officers will be lodged in *Inweraris.*"*

When the Bunyo had concluded his speech he withdrew, and we were conducted into the anti-chamber. We had hitherto been guarded by imperial soldiers whom we did not know, and who were under the command of the officer who arrested us. That officer entered the anti-chamber, accompanied by a magistrate named NAGAKAWA-MATATARO, who was the fourth in rank next to the governor, and whose office was that of a judge in criminal matters. The officer having delivered us over to his custody, he immediately ordered the soldiers who had accompanied us to retire, and our old acquaintances, the Matsmai soldiers entered in their stead. Matataro then directed them to bind Mr. Chlebnikoff and me as Japanese officers are bound, and the sailors like common people.† This being done, we were conducted, between five and six o'clock, to a place of imprisonment situated about a half or three quarters of a werst from the castle. It rained, but the multitude of persons, all carrying umbrellas, who assembled to see us was immense.

* *Ro* is the Japanese word signifying prison; what is meant by an *Inwerari*, I shall soon have occasion to explain.

† The Japanese bind their officers by fastening a rope round their waists, and tying their hands down by their sides, so that they cannot move them. They tie the hands of common people behind them, as we were bound when in Kunashier.

CHAPTER II.

The city prison was situated at the foot of a steep rock, and was surrounded by two wooden fences, and an earthen wall surmounted by chevaux-de-frise. Within the inner fence, we beheld a large gloomy building, similar to that in which we had been confined when we first arrived at Matsmai, excepting that there were here four cages, one of which was tolerably large, and the other three small. On reaching this prison, the head gaoler, who was named Keeseeskee,* unbound us one after the other, and searched us from head to foot, making us strip to our shirts; having searched me first, he directed me to enter the smallest of the four cages;† Mr. Chlebnikoff was put into the next cage, which was somewhat larger and lighter than mine. The third cage was occupied by a Japanese prisoner, and the sailors were all shut up

* In Japan, the gaoler is equal in rank to an imperial soldier. He is privileged to wear a sword and dagger. Besides his office of keeper of the prison, he is the executioner, and inflicts all kinds of punishment on criminals. We observed that his countrymen conversed and joked with him; but that they would never eat with him, nor smoke tobacco in the same room where he was; they even avoided lighting their pipes at the same fire where he had lighted his.

† It was six paces in length, five in breadth, and about ten feet high.

together in the fourth, which was the largest of all, and from its situation by far the best.*

We were still unable to guess what the Governor meant when he told us that the sailors would be confined in a real prison, but that we should live in *Inweraris;* for we now found that our accommodation was considerably worse than theirs. We afterwards learned that the difference consisted in Mr. Chlebnikoff and myself having separate cells, whilst the sailors were confined in one; but this was a favour on which we were not inclined to set much value. Our cages, however, stood close to each other, so that Mr. Chlebnikoff and I could converse without difficulty. The Japanese prisoner began to discourse with Mr. Chlebnikoff; he told him his name, and said that he should be set at liberty in six days. He handed him a piece of salt fish; in return for which Mr. Chlebnikoff gave him a white cravat.† Mr. Chlebnikoff shared the piece of fish with me, and we were both so hungry, that we looked upon it as a delicacy.

Late in the evening, our old attendant Fok-Masse, accompanied by two other servants, brought us our supper, which consisted of thin boiled rice,

* It was the best, because it was most exposed to the light and the fresh air; besides, many external objects were visible from it, whereas, nothing whatever was to be seen from mine.

† Keeseeskee accidently saw this cravat, and having inquired from whence it came, carried it away, and shewed it to some of his superiors, who ordered it to be deposited along with the rest of our clothes.

two small pieces of pickled radish for each of us, and warm water to drink. Fok-Masse appeared out of humour; he answered our questions roughly, but never offered to reproach us on the subject of our escape.* After I had finished my meal, the Japanese handed an old night-gown through the railings of my cage; they likewise gave some things to my companions. The door of our prison was now closed, and we were enveloped in total darkness, for the spars which formed the front railing and divided the whole from the guard-room, were closed up with boards, so that there was no aperture through which the light could penetrate to our cages. After sunset the guards came every half hour with lanterns to inspect our cages, and they even woke us from our sleep to make us answer their calls. During summer, the night hours† are extremely short with the Japanese, so

* We at first supposed that Fok-Masse was to attend on us as before, but we soon found that this was not the case, and that he had merely brought two lads with him in order to shew them the proper mode of attending on us, and teaching them the Russian names of the most necessary things. There was, however, no occasion for this, as we could express our wants distinctly enough in Japanese.

† The Japanese divide the day into twelve hours, reckoning six from sunrise to sunset, and an equal number from sunset to sunrise; consequently the hours are not always equal; when the day is longer than the night, the day hours are the longest, and when the night is longer than the day, the night hours are the longest. To measure time, they employ a small beam of wood, the upper part of which is covered with glue and whitewashed; a nar-

that they were everlastingly disturbing us, and we were not allowed to enjoy a moments repose.

On the 4th of May, at daybreak, an officer opened the doors of our cages, and called us all by our names. At noon, we were conducted before the Bunyo, with our hands bound in the same way as before. On arriving at the castle, we were ordered to sit down in the anti-chamber of the Hall of Justice, and in a few moments Mr. Moor

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row groove is made in the glue and filled with a vegetable powder which burns very slowly; on each side of this groove, at certain distances, there are holes formed for the purpose of nails being put into them. By these holes, the length of the day and night hours is determined for the space of six months, from the spring to the winter equinox. During the other six months the rule is inverted, the day becoming night hours, and the night day hours. The Japanese ascertain the length of a day hour, and mark it off with nails; they then fill the groove with powder, set light to it at noon, and thus measure their time. The beam is kept in a box, which is laid in a dry place; but the changes of weather have, notwithstanding, a great influence on this kind of time-keeper.

The Japanese day begins at midnight, at which time the clock strikes *nine*, after having given three strokes, as it were to denote the being about to strike. These three strokes precede every hour. One hour after midnight, the clock strikes *eight*, the next hour *seven*, at sunrise *six*, then *five* and *four*, and at noon again *nine* One hour after midday *eight*, two hours after midday *seven*, at sunset *six*, then *five*, and finally *four*. At midnight the new day commences. The hours are struck in the following manner: first, one stroke; in a minute and a half, a second stroke; and immediately a third. These three warning strokes announce that the hour is about to be struck. In the space of a minute and a half after, the striking of the hour begins. The strokes succeed each other at intervals of fifteen seconds, except the two last, which follow more rapidly, as if to notify that the hour is struck.

and Alexei passed by us, and were conducted into the Hall.

After a short time, Mr. Chlebnikoff and I were unbound, though the ropes were left round our waists; the sailors had merely their hands, and not their elbows loosened. Mr. Moor and Alexei were not bound in any way. We were then led into the Hall of Justice. When the Bunyo had taken his seat, he repeated many of his old questions, respecting which he now, however, merely required explanations. He then asked me what I thought of my conduct, and whether I supposed I had acted justly or unjustly towards the Japanese?—The Japanese, I replied, have driven us to the course we adopted: they first of all treacherously seized us, and then refused to credit the statement we made, or to hold any communication with our ships, in case they should come on the part of our Government to confirm our declarations. What were we then to do? The circumstances of our case fully justify our conduct. The Governor expressed astonishment at what I said. "Your seizure," said he, "is an old affair, which ought not to be spoken of now. I merely ask, whether you consider yourselves guilty or innocent.—If you declare yourselves not guilty, I can, by no means, represent your case favourably to the Emperor." I immediately perceived, that he wished us all to acknowledge that we were guilty; and, I replied, that were we in a situation to be

fairly tried, I could urge many circumstances in our justification—but we were in the power of the Japanese.—They might judge of our conduct as they pleased; but I alone should be considered guilty, since my companions had acted in conformity to my orders.

The Bunyo appeared satisfied with this declaration; he observed, that it was praiseworthy to take the blame upon myself, for the sake of justifying my countrymen; but that obedience to my commands could only be urged in exculpation of the sailors; that Mr. Chlebnikoff was an officer himself, and ought to have known that he was bound to obey my orders only whilst on board our ship, and not during his imprisonment. Then, turning to Mr. Chlebnikoff, he inquired whether he was ready to acknowledge himself guilty. Far from making any such acknowledgement, Mr. Chlebnikoff began to justify our conduct, and to prove that we could not be condemned by any rule either of equity or humanity. At this the Japanese appeared irritated, and repeated that they could not make their Emperor acquainted with declarations of that kind. Finally, partly by persuasion, and partly by menaces, they induced us to admit that we had done wrong, and that our conduct could in no way operate to our advantage. With this confession they seemed perfectly satisfied.

The Bunyo then dismissed us, ordering

Mr. Moor and Alexei to remain behind. I must here observe, that on my complaining that the severe pain in my foot scarcely permitted me to stand upright, the Bunyo desired a seat to be placed for me, and permitted me to sit during the whole of the examination. When we quitted the Hall of Justice, our hands were again bound, and we were conducted back to prison in the usual way. On entering my cell, I found my old worn out night-gown taken away, and the wadded one which had been formerly given me, together with my coverlet, substituted in its stead; my companions had likewise been provided for in the same manner during their absence.

We were now treated in all respects like criminals; no distinction was observed between us and the Japanese prisoner who was in the adjacent cage. We, indeed, thought this treatment extremely severe; yet, it must nevertheless be acknowledged, that the Japanese laws respecting criminals, are far more humane than those of most, I might perhaps say of all, European nations. We were now confined in a real prison, in the same place with a criminal! I shall describe our treatment, leaving to the reader to institute what comparisons he may think fit,

I have already mentioned the cages in which we were confined. They were kept extremely clean, and even the lobby was swept every day by our attendants. When we were conducted to the

castle, our cages were cleaned out, and our coverlets and night-dresses aired in the sun during our absence. Food was brought to us every morning, noon, and evening. At each meal we received thick boiled rice instead of bread. It was dealt out to us in portions which were more than sufficient for Mr. Chlebnikoff and me; but the sailors found the allowance scanty enough * at the commencement of their imprisonment, when their appetites were keen, owing to the great fatigue and privations they had endured. In addition to the rice, we were served with soup made of sea-cabbage and other wild plants, such as sweet cabbage, wild garlic, and water angelica; to which, for the sake of rendering it savoury, pickled beans (Japanese *misso*) and some pieces of whale fat were added. In the evening, we occasionally received, instead of soup, two pieces of salt fish, with pickled wild cabbage. Our drink consisted of warm water, which was brought to us as often as we wished. If we happened to ask for drink during the night, our guards, without a murmur, called up the servants, and ordered them to bring us water. At first we were not allowed to have combs, and in order that we might have water to wash ourselves with, we were obliged to reserve a part

* Mr. Chlebnikoff and I being unable to eat all that was given us, we sent the remainder of our allowance to the sailors, and the attendants very willingly conveyed it to them; but Keeseeskee at length observed what we did, and was cruel enough to forbid it.

of that which was given us to drink. We were, however, after some time, provided with a comb, which seemed to have been intended for a prison, as the teeth were extremely small, probably to prevent the prisoners from doing themselves any injury with it.

On many occasions the Japanese shewed particular attention to us in other respects. One night a violent earthquake took place; our prison shook, and we heard a great tumult in the yard, and in the streets. Our guards immediately came to us with lanterns, and desired us not to be alarmed, informing us that it was only an earthquake, which was a very common occurrence in Japan, but was seldom attended with danger. They, probably, did this of their own accord; for, to the honour of the Japanese, I must declare, that many of them treated us with great kindness, and did all they could to afford us consolation. One in particular, named Gooiso, frequently brought us refreshments unperceived by his comrades: he sometimes desired us to ask for water, and to keep the vessel beside us; then, having watched for a favourable opportunity, he would throw away the water, and fill the vessel with tea in its stead. We experienced similar kindness from two other guards; but a soldier, who had been one of the inner guard on the night of our escape, presented the most striking example of humanity. He had accompanied the detachment which was sent in

pursuit of us; but not in the rank of a soldier; as on account of his neglect, he was degraded to that of a common servant. From the moment of our arrest, until our arrival in Matsmai, he never quitted us. His loose hair, unshaven beard, and pale countenance, sufficiently indicated the grief of which we were the cause; yet he saluted us kindly the first moment he beheld us; and, far from testifying the least hatred or ill-will, made every exertion to serve us during the journey, though these attentions were in no way connected with his duty. The generosity and nobleness of his conduct often moved us to tears.

A day or two* after our last conference with the Bunyo, I was conducted alone to the castle, where the two officers next in rank questioned me in the presence of several others. Before I entered the hall, Teske came to me and said, that Mr. Moor was much exasperated against us, and had said many things to our disadvantage. He, however, added, that I need give myself no uneasiness about it, since the Japanese were not inclined to believe what Mr. Moor said. He, moreover, informed me that Mr. Moor had offered to enter the Japanese service. I, therefore, before the officers began their interrogatories, requested

* About this time we were not visited either by the interpreter or the physician, although the sailors repeatedly requested that the latter might attend them; the orderly officers alone came occasionally to visit us.

that they would permit me to state my sentiments freely, and that they would direct the interpreter to translate what I should say as faithfully as possible. The officers replied, that they were very ready to hear whatever I might wish to communicate to them. I then asked them, whether, supposing three Japanese officers should be made prisoners in any part of the world, they would be well pleased to find that one of the three had conducted himself as Mr. Moor had done? They laughed, and said, certainly not. The eldest of the officers at last remarked, that I had nothing to fear on that ground, for all Russians were alike to the Japanese, and they only wanted to be made acquainted with the real circumstances of the case. According to the Japanese laws, added he, nothing can be done with precipitation; though you are now in a prison, when the new Bunyo comes, a better place of abode, and even a house will be allotted to you; and I have reason to believe that the Government will send you back to Russia. They then asked very earnestly whether, as the Kuriles had assured them, it was true that Resanoff had participated in the attacks of the company's ships, by first giving to Chwostoff orders for that aggression, which, though afterwards withdrawn, were ultimately followed by Chwostoff. It was easy to conjecture who the Kurile was who had given this information; it was no other than Mr. Moor. I replied, that I did not know, precisely, whether or

not Resanoff had taken any part in the affair, but that a report prevailed of his having intended to attack the Japanese.

The officers then referred to a manuscript spread out before them, and asked a great number of questions concerning our navigation, the object of the expedition, the situation of Russia, and its political relations with other European states, particularly with France. I perceived that they derived all their information from the same source, and found it frequently necessary to correct the erroneous notions they had imbibed.

This unpleasant business being over, the elder of the officers again assured me, that I had nothing to fear; that the Japanese were as just as other nations, and, therefore, would not act basely with regard to us. With this consolatory assurance I was dismissed. On returning to the prison, I related to Mr. Chlebnikoff all that had passed.

We were shortly afterwards visited by the officer Nagatawa-Matataro, accompanied by the two interpreters. They brought along with them copies of our declarations, in order to read them over, and verify them. We perceived that our statements concerning the way in which we had procured the knife, and obtained information of the orders given for attacking the Russian vessels, and for dispatching troops and cannon to Kunashier, were all struck out; and the officers informed us, that we must say nothing more on those

subjects in the presence of the Bunyo.* They, doubtless, wished to screen the Japanese who were implicated in the affair. We had been much distressed at the idea of any evil befalling either Teske or the innocent soldiers and attendants, through whose negligence we had obtained the knife, and were consequently very well pleased with this proposal. But we could not so readily agree to what they next required; and a warm dispute arose, in the course of which Matataro, according to custom, flew into a rage, reproached, and even threatened us. They proposed that we should justify Mr. Moor, by declaring that his consent to escape was a mere pretence, and that he had never mentioned to Simanoff and Wassiljeff that he was ready to join us in the attempt. To this we would not assent, and even positively refused to contradict any of the statements which we had before made on the subject of Mr. Moor. We observed, that whatever that officer's real intentions might be, his declarations certainly bore the appearance of sincerity, and that we were convinced he would have escaped along with us, had not cowardice prevented him. We had very good reasons for not assisting him in extricating himself from the

* These omissions shew that great strictness was not observed with regard to placing our declarations on record, but the evidence was, in this case, suppressed for the purpose of saving innocent persons from punishment.—Such garbling is, I am afraid, never exercised for so good an object with us.

affair, and I think it necessary to state them, lest the reader should accuse us of revenge, and a wish to injure him.

I have already mentioned that Mr. Moor endeavoured to convince the Japanese that he was a German, and not a Russian. Had we asserted that he had no participation in our plans, the Japanese would probably have sent him in a Dutch ship to Germany, his pretended native country, whence he might easily have proceeded to Russia. He might then, without fear of contradiction, have related a tale of his own contrivance, declared his conduct to be the effect of ill-treatment which he had received from us, and thus, for ever, have branded the recollection of our names. This idea was constantly present to our minds, and we resolved not to depart in the slightest degree from the truth for the sake of justifying Mr. Moor. If our testimony could have been the means of procuring for him the situation of chief officer in Japan, instead of bringing about his return to Europe, we would readily have agreed to anything, though he had endeavoured to injure us by all possible means.* Matataro visited us for three

* I will merely mention the following circumstance. When we were searched at Kunashier, the Japanese took from me a pocket-book I shortly afterwards recollected that among many other things, the names of Davydoff and Chwostoff were written down in this book, and I consulted with Mr. Moor and Mr. Chlebnikoff on what I should say, if the Japanese demanded an explanation of that memorandum. We then regarded each other as

or four successive days, and urged us to contradict what we had before said of Mr. Moor; but finding our resolution unalterable, he at length desisted from his useless persuasion. We are ignorant whether or not any alteration was made in our testimony in this respect.

I was now afraid that Mr. Moor would, by his artifice, at last succeed in so far conciliating the Japanese, as to gain permission to return to Russia, where his misrepresentations might brand our names with eternal disgrace. This horrible reflection filled me with despair, and brought on a serious indisposition. For the space of a week or ten days no physician appeared, though the sailors had long before applied for medical attendance; but the Japanese at length took compassion on us, and sent a physician daily. So little did I value life, that I concealed the real cause of my illness, and took medicine which instead of operating beneficially, had quite a contrary effect. Notwithstanding the weak state to which I was reduced, I insisted that the physician should bleed me.* With

brothers, we were animated by one spirit and one heart! Mr. Moor had, however, since told the Japanese that the names of Davydoff and Chwostoff were inserted in my pocket-book, and that they were, moreover, my friends. Teske informed us of this circumstance, and observed, that we need be apprehensive of no ill consequences, since, as he expressed himself, Mr. Moor had unnecessarily communicated the affair to the Japanese. In fact, no questions were ever asked on this subject.

* He would not consent until he had obtained the Governor's permission.

a trembling hand he proceeded to open a vein, but his courage failed him, and he was unable to perform the operation. Much as I had suffered, my constitution, which was naturally vigorous, and improved by the habits of my life from youth upwards, successfully resisted the pernicious operation of the medicine. To the honour of the worthy Bunyo, Arrao-Madsimano-Kami, I must observe, that when he suspected the real cause of my illness, he sent Nagakawa-Matataro to assure me that the Japanese would not act with severity towards us; that on the arrival of the new Bunyo, we should be removed to a better place of residence, and that both Bunyos would then exert all their influence to obtain our liberation. In interpreting this message, Kumaddschero was so deeply moved, that he melted into tears; and though I doubted the sincerity of the Japanese, yet this assurance afforded me some consolation.

We were now supplied with better food: we were frequently treated with a kind of pudding, which the Japanese call tufa; fine beans were boiled with our rice, forming a dish which is considered a great delicacy in Japan; even chicken soup was given us on one or two occasions; and for our drink we had always tea instead of water. This change was a consequence of an order of the Bunyo, and obtained through Teske's intercession.

During our confinement in the city prison, a circumstance occurred which I cannot pass over in

silence:—Our neighbour, the Japanese, who remained with us much longer than the six days which he told us would terminate his imprisonment, underwent the punishment to which he had been adjudged, in the court-yard.* We heard his cries. On the same day an officer, with the criminal Judge, Matataro, and the interpreter Kumaddschero, came, by order of the Governor, to say, that we must not suppose, in consequence of the execution of the sentence on this criminal, that a similar fate awaited us; for, according to the Japanese laws, no foreigner could be condemned to suffer corporeal punishment. We looked upon this assurance as merely intended to console us; but we afterwards learnt, that a law to this effect really exists; and that the only foreigners to whom its protection does not extend, are those who attempt to induce Japanese subjects to em-

* The crime which this man had committed was as follows:—Having visited a public bathing house, he changed his old clothes, as if by mistake, for a better suit belonging to some other individual. He was several times conveyed before a Judge, with his hands tied behind his back. At length, he received twenty-five stripes, and the same punishment was repeated after the lapse of three days. What instrument was used in the infliction of this chastisement we know not, but we distinctly heard the stripes, and the cries of the offender. He returned with his back naked and bloody to prison. The attendants spat on his shoulders and rubbed the saliva over the lacerated parts, and thus cured him. His hands were afterwards marked, to shew, that he had been punished, and he was then sent to the northern Kurile Islands, in the possession of the Japanese.

brace Christianity. The laws are extremely rigorous against teachers of the Christian religion.*

In the middle of June, we were carried twice every day before the Bunyo, in whose presence, and that of several officers, our depositions were read, and our opinion asked with respect to their correctness. Every circumstance that might have tended to criminate the Japanese, was carefully omitted, and, in conformity with our promise, we made no allusion to them. When, however, Mr. Moor's declaration was read, we made no

* The Japanese are not followers of foreign religions. They give, however, full liberty to a variety of sects, besides permitting the public profession of even the Kurile religion; but they are quite intolerant to Christianity, on account of the trouble it has occasioned among them. The Catholic priests, who formerly lived in Japan and enjoyed every possible freedom, preached the Christian faith, and converted a great number of the natives; but, at last, the progress of the new religion gave rise to a dreadful civil war. For this reason, after the complete extirpation of the Christians, the following inscription was placed at the head of the stone tablets of laws, which are fixed up in all public places, and even in the streets:—"Whoever knows any individual who has taught Christianity, and can convict him thereof, shall receive a reward of five hundred silver pieces."—There is, likewise, a law which prohibits masters from hiring servants, until they receive from them a written assurance of their not being Christians. In Nangasaky, where Christianity had made the greatest progress, there is a staircase, on the steps of which are laid various ornaments and utensils of the Catholic church, and on the first step a crucifix. On new-year's day, all the inhabitants of Nangasaky are obliged to ascend these steps; and, as a proof that they are not Christians, trample on the articles. The interpreter assured us, that many Christians who live at Nangasaky comply with this regulation from interested motives.

hesitation to contradict several of his assertions. He protested that he was entirely blameless, and declared that he had never persuaded the sailors to attempt their escape. On hearing this, Schkajeff exclaimed, *Think on Heaven and your conscience, Feodar Feodorowitsch!* Can you even hope to return to Russia? Mr. Chlebnikoff and I desired him to be silent, but these few words made a deep impression on Mr. Moor, and we paid dearly for them, as will appear in the sequel. The Japanese, who observed our disagreement, took upon themselves the task of correcting our depositions, and dismissed us.

The new Bunyo, OGA-SAWARA-ISSENO-KAMI, arrived at Matsmai on the 29th of June, and on the 2d of July we were conducted to the castle. We found assembled in the Hall of Justice all the officers who were usually present at our examinations, together with Mr. Moor and Alexei. On my entering the hall, Mr. Moor addressed me, and said, that we had no reason to fear, as all was going on well. When we had waited about half an hour, the two Bunyos appeared, with their suites. They were each preceded by an officer. The new Bunyo was the oldest man of the two,*

* In Japan the situation of Bunyo is always filled by noblemen, who are called *Chadamodo*, and are the principal personages in the empire, next to the princes who govern principalities (Damyo). The precedence of these noblemen depends on the services and antiquity of their families, according to which, also, they are appointed to posts of honour. This arrangement somewhat resembles

and in his suite there were two officers more than in that of the late Bunyo. He entered first, and having taken his seat, the old Bunyo seated himself on his right. The Japanese testified their respect to him in their usual way, and we bowed after the European fashion. The old Bunyo then pointing to his colleague, observed, that he, ODA-SAWARA-ISSENO-KAMI, was the new Bunyo, appointed to relieve him, and desired us to tell him our names and ranks. We did so with a bow, which he returned by smiling and nodding his head. The old Bunyo then directed an officer to bring in a roll of paper, which, he said, had been written by Mr. Moor, who called it a Memoir. He desired us to read it, and then to say whether we approved of its contents. The two Bunyos then retired, and left us to deliver our opinion to the officers. Mr. Moor himself read his paper; in which, after many compliments to both Bunyos, he described all the plans we had formed for our escape, such as they really were. He asserted

the practice which prevailed in Russia before regular troops were introduced. The new Governor was several years older than his predecessor. He was seventy-four and the other fifty; but they both appeared much younger than they really were, which is generally the case with the Japanese. The new Bunyo looked like a giant among the Japanese; he was as tall as our sailors. His countrymen looked upon him as a wonder. Before his arrival, they often told us that a giant was coming, and that we should see there were people in Japan as tall as the Russians. We, besides, saw an officer in the service of the Prince of Nambu, who would have been considered a tall man even in Europe.

that his agreeing to escape with us was a mere pretence; construed all we had said in a way calculated to injure us in the opinion of the Japanese; explained the object of our voyage, and minutely described the situation of eastern Russia, and the political relations between France and Russia after the peace of Tilsit. In conclusion, he entreated that the Japanese would pardon us.

Having heard the paper to an end, we began to contradict all that was not conformable to truth; but of this the Japanese expressed their disapprobation, and declared that we had no right to dispute with Mr. Moor. I replied, that if they were resolved to give full credit to Mr. Moor's declarations, it would be of no use for us to say any thing on the subject, as there were no witnesses to decide between us. Mr. Chlebnikoff, however, still wished to contradict some statements in the paper, but the Japanese became irritated, and he desisted. We, however, resolved not to sign Mr. Moor's declaration in case the Japanese should require us so to do; but no such proposal was made.

The two Bunyos now entered, and one of the officers informed them that the paper had been read to us; but what he stated, as our opinion of it, we could not understand. The new Bunyo then drew from his bosom a letter, folded in the European manner, which he handed to his predecessor. The latter delivered it to one of the officers, who gave it to the interpreter, and it was at last handed

to me. The Russian superscription was as follows: "To THE GOVERNOR OF MATSMAI." Within the cover was a paper containing the following words, with a French translation.

"The proximity of Russia and Japan, renders it desirable that friendly and commercial relations should be established between them, which could not fail to operate to the advantage of the inhabitants of the latter empire. With this view an embassy was dispatched to Nangasaky. But the offensive and repulsive answer given by the Japanese to the proposals made to them, and the extension of their trade to the Kurile Islands and Sagaleen, which are Russian possessions, render it at last necessary for the Emperor of Russia to adopt measures which may prove his power to injure the trade of the Japanese, until the Russians be informed, by the inhabitants of Ooroop or Sagaleen, that the Japanese are ready to enter into commercial relations with them. The Russians intend, by resorting to these mild measures against Japan, merely to demonstrate that the northern parts of that empire are entirely at their mercy, and that the obstinacy of the Japanese Government in opposing all intercourse, must, if persisted in, terminate in the loss of these countries."

This paper had neither date nor signature, and contained no indication of the authority under which it had been sent to Japan. We, therefore,

endeavoured to prove, and in this instance Mr. Moor supported us, that Chwostoff had been the author of it; adding, that we were ready to declare upon oath, that our Government had no knowledge of the affair, though the writer pretended to speak of measures which the Emperor of Russia was to adopt. Even the anonymous nature of the document proved that it had never issued from our Government. Mention was, besides, made of the inhabitants of Ooroop, one of the Kurile Islands, which had long been uninhabited. This circumstance was well known to our Government, and so glaring an error could, therefore, never have crept into an official document. The Japanese having paid attention to our explanations, the new Bunyo observed, that he did not mean to inquire whether the paper had been forged, or whether it had been sent to Japan by order of the Russian Government; he merely wished to be made acquainted with its contents, in order that he might communicate them to his Emperor. We immediately gave him a verbal translation, and Mr. Moor drew up a written one. They then shewed us two documents which Chwostoff had presented to the inhabitants of Sagaleen along with the medals. The contents of these two papers perfectly corresponded with the preceding, so that we were not required to translate them.

In conclusion, the new Bunyo informed us, that in a short time we should be removed to a

new place of abode; and that our condition would be, in all respects, ameliorated. The two Bunyos then withdrew, and we were conveyed back to prison.

From this day a visible change took place in the Japanese, who attended us. They became much more friendly and civil than before. Teske informed us that after our escape, Mr. Moor and Alexei had been removed to our first place of confinement in Matsmai, which was now again preparing for us. A separate apartment was fitting up * for Mr. Moor and Alexei, and we could not be removed until that was completed. Teske, besides, assured us that, at the farewell audience of the new Governor, the Emperor ordered him to take the greatest care of our healths, and after his arrival at Matsmai, to do every thing to render our situation comfortable.

In the meanwhile, a circumstance occurred which displayed in the strongest light the kind-heartedness and generosity of our interpreter Teske. When I landed at Kunashier, I had accidentally, in my pocket, the rough copy of a letter which I had been preparing with the view of sending it to the Japanese in case of their still declining any intercourse with us. In this letter I up-

* We at first supposed that the Japanese intended to confine us separately, but we afterwards found that they entertained no such design. Mr. Moor had, however, urgently requested that a separate place might be assigned to him and Alexei.

braided them with their cowardly conduct in firing upon unarmed men, and even held out several threats to them. I added, that without the consent of our Government, no officer could adopt measures of hostility even in self-defence; and that this circumstance, and not fear, made me refrain from resenting their baseness. The latter observations might be considered as explaining our sentiments, but the first part could not fail to wound the pride of the haughty Japanese. Mr. Moor knew that I had the letter, and informed the Japanese of its contents. It had been preserved along with the rest of our things, and being produced, Teske was ordered to translate it. Mr. Moor explained every syllable to Teske; but the latter, observing that many words, and even whole sentences were struck out, turned this circumstance to our advantage, by omitting all expressions which might give offence to the Japanese Government, and translating only such as tended to justify us; the rest he declared could not be deciphered. It would not have been in his power to have done this, had I written out a clean copy of the letter.

On the 9th of July we were again carried before the two Bunyos. The new Bunyo told us that since we had escaped merely in the hope of returning to our native country, and not with the view of injuring the Japanese, he had resolved, with the consent of his predecessor, to better our situation; trusting that we would not make any such attempt

again, but patiently await the decision of the Japanese Emperor. He added, that they would both employ all the interest they possessed to obtain our freedom. He had no sooner uttered these words, than the ropes with which we were bound were taken off; the soldiers who were stationed behind us had, without our knowledge, loosened them and disposed them in such a way that they could remove them in an instant.

The old Bunyo assured us, that his friendship for us continued unabated, and that he would take the same interest in our fate as he had hitherto done. He then wished us good health, and took his leave, exhorting us to pray to God, and to trust to his mercy.

The Bunyos having withdrawn, we left the castle.

CHAPTER III.

INSTEAD of being conveyed back to the city prison, we were carried to our old residence the *Oksio*, which was assigned to us on our first arrival at Matsmai. Mr. Chlebnikoff, myself, and the sailors were confined together, but for Mr. Moor and Alexei an additional apartment had been built, to which there was a separate entrance from the court-yard. Our change of residence was accompanied with an improvement in our diet. The articles of food, which were brought us, were better than those which had been formerly given us at the same place. We were supplied with a cup of sagi * every day, and furnished with pipes and to-

* The oldest of our servants, who acted as our butler, was called *Yeske*. This man, who was extremely fond of strong liquors, laid it down as a maxim, that to drink seldom, but heartily when at it, was better than to tipple frequently and in small quantities. Accordingly, instead of giving us one cup of sagi regularly each day, he supplied us with two cups at once; but he never neglected to help himself abundantly at all times, and was, consequently, intoxicated almost every evening. At length the guards discovered from what source he derived constant supplies for his inebriety, and considered it an occasion for interposing their authority. After this Yeske no longer made free with our sagi, but waited till we thought fit to share it with him.

bacco pouches filled with very good tobacco. A kettle with tea was constantly standing on our hearth. We were allowed to have combs, hand-towels and even curtains to keep off the flies which are here very numerous. In addition to all these favours the Japanese sent us our books, and provided us with ink and paper. We now collected Japanese words and wrote them down in the Russian character. At length it occurred to us that we might learn to write Japanese. We requested that the interpreter Kumaddschero would make out an alphabet for us; but this he declined doing until he obtained the permission of his superiors. He afterwards told us that the Japanese laws prohibited the teaching Christians to read and write their language; and that, consequently, his superiors would not permit him to write the alphabet for us. We were, therefore, obliged to content ourselves with making lists of Japanese words written in the Russian character.

We were separated from Mr. Moor only by a thin wooden partition. I asked Teske whether we might speak to him. Certainly, replied he, converse as much as you please; nobody will hinder you. When I first spoke to Mr. Moor, I received no answer; but he soon agreed to our proposal of addressing a letter of thanks to the old Bunyo, previously to his departure. This letter was written, and in it many compliments were likewise paid to the new Bunyo. We observed, "that fate,

in ordaining we should become the prisoners of the Japanese, had, to our good fortune, singled out the period when ARRAO-MAPSIMANO-KAMI was invested with the government of Matsmai." The Bunyo, on reading Teske's translation of the letter, laughed at this passage, and inquired whether we supposed that any other Japanese nobleman, in the like situation, would not have treated us with equal kindness.

On the 14th of July, the old Bunyo departed from Matsmai, taking along with him our friend Teske in the quality of secretary. Teske promised to write from the capital to inform us in what state our case stood, requested that we would not fail to reply to him, and desired us to give our letters to Kumaddschero to be forwarded. We did not expect, for some time, to hear any thing decisive from the capital, knowing that the Governor would not arrive there in less than twenty-three or twenty-five days, * but we daily hoped to hear of the ar-

* The Japanese cross the Straits of Sangar from Matsmai to a well sheltered bay near the city of Mimayu. The length of the passage is about thirteen Japanese rees (about fifty-two wersts), and as they never undertake it except with a favourable wind, they are in general only a few hours at sea. Mimayu is about two hundred rees, or eight hundred wersts from Yeddo. Persons of distinction travel in litters or sedan chairs, and the common people on horseback. A great number of men are, therefore, always kept at the post stations. The Japanese assured us that the litter-bearers, from long experience, proceed with so much steadiness, that if a glass of water was placed in the litter, not a drop would

rival of Russian ships, though we sometimes doubted whether the Japanese would tell us either when they arrived or what was the object of their visit.

Meanwhile we passed our time in smoking tobacco, reading over again our old books, and collecting and recording Japanese words. I began to note down, on small slips of paper, all our adventures, interspersed with my own observations. In doing this, I wrote only half sentences and arbitrary signs, and mingled Russian, French, and English words together, in such a way, that none but myself could decipher the manuscript. Fearing lest the Japanese might some time or other search us, and seize on these papers, I concealed them beneath my sash, in a little bag which Simanoff had made me out of part of an old waistcoat. But the previous conduct of the Japanese gave us little reason to fear that they would deprive us of our papers; for when we made our escape, Schkajeff had along with him the rough copy of our first memorial to the Governor, and though the Japanese took it from him, they never afterwards alluded to it in any way. Mr. Chlebnikoff's com-

be spilt In dry weather, when the roads are good, the journey from Mimaya to Yeddo may be completed in twenty three days. The couriers from Matsmai, who perform the journey on horseback, arrive in the capital in seven and sometimes in six days; but this is the extreme of their expedition in travelling. The general post with letters, departs only once every month, and is usually fourteen days in completing the journey.

pass likewise fell into their hands, but they never made it the subject of inquiry. They, probably, did not understand its nature. Had they been aware that it was a compass, they would doubtless have inquired how we had managed to make it.*

The conduct of the new Bunyo proved that he was no less kindly disposed towards us than his predecessor. According to the Japanese laws he could not grant us permission to walk out; but he gave orders that the doors of our prison should be kept open all day, in order that we might enjoy the fresh air. We likewise received, by his orders, fresh fruit.† He once, on a festival day,‡

* The manner in which Simanoff concealed his knife from the notice of the Japanese was singular enough, though I did not recollect to mention it before. Whilst the gaoler was searching Mr. Chlebnikoff and me, the eyes of all the Japanese were turned towards us. In the meantime Simanoff had sufficient presence of mind to throw the knife down on the ground, close to the cage which was allotted for the sailors. During the night, he stretched his hand through the palisades and recovered it. From that time it remained in our possession, and I still keep it as a memorial of our adventures.

† The fruits, such as apples, common pears, and Bergamots, were not yet perfectly ripe; but they suited the taste of the Japanese, who are extremely fond of acids. In the yard of our house there was a peach tree loaded with fruit, but the Japanese plucked all the peaches before they were ripe, and ate them, occasionally giving us some. We could eat them only when they were baked; but the Japanese devoured them with a voracious appetite, either raw or baked.

‡ This happened in the middle of August, on a day which is a great children's festival. In the evening the male children assemble in the castle, where, in the presence of the Governor and all the officers of state, they play, sing, dance, wrestle and fence with

sent us a supper which had been prepared in his own kitchen. Our guards likewise treated us with much civility. They sometimes gave us sagi, fruit, &c. and these acts of kindness were no longer performed by stealth. An old man, seventy years of age, brought some fans and lackered spoons for Mr. Chlebnikoff and me, and an ink-stand, ink and pencil for Schkajeff; who, notwithstanding that he was afflicted with a painful disorder,* enter-

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sabres. They afterwards partake of a supper consisting of various kinds of delicacies. Kumaddschero assured us, that on this occasion upwards of one thousand five hundred children were assembled in the castle; but none are admitted whose parents cannot afford to dress them well. Those who are badly dressed are, indeed, ashamed to appear in the assembly. Girls are never admitted, as the Japanese laws prohibit females from entering fortified places.

* This man, though arrived at the age of thirty-two in total ignorance, had, whilst on board the sloop, by extreme application, learnt to read, and likewise to write a little. To pass away the time, Mr. Chlebnikoff and I took upon ourselves the task of instructing the sailors. Schkajeff, who suffered severely from indisposition, feared lest the others might advance more rapidly than he, and, whenever he experienced the least mitigation of his illness, never failed to employ himself either in reading or writing. He applied to both with unremitted assiduity, whilst his companions regarded the task of learning to read as too difficult, and abandoned it before they had acquired the alphabet. Mr. Chlebnikoff gave him instructions every evening, so that in time he could read and write tolerably well. He used to read to the rest of the sailors from a file of Moscow Journals, and gave them explanations of what he read. Schkajeff was a countryman of the great Lomonossoff. The disorder with which he became afflicted, and which shewed itself after we were taken, was an extraordinary swelling of the legs. The Japanese physician gave him a decoction to drink, and burned moxa on the swollen parts; Schkajeff, how-

tained an extraordinary desire to practice reading and writing. In return for these civilities, we gave the Japanese some European articles, on which, particularly fine cloth, they set the highest value. They regard as curiosities any rags of European manufacture, and make them into purses, bags for their letters and tobacco, and cases for their pipes. We, therefore, distributed among them the trowsers, stockings and handkerchiefs which were at our own disposal, for which they overwhelmed us with thanks. It was necessary, however, to give to each his portion privately, for had it been offered in the presence of others it would not have been accepted.

Nothing remarkable occurred until September; but I cannot omit mentioning a circumstance which is characteristic of the customs of the Japanese. One day a dinner was sent to us of far better quality than that to which we had been accustomed, and served in elegant dishes. We

ever, looked upon these remedies as useless, and begged to have some radish-juice to rub upon the swellings, which, he said, had cured him of the same disorder when he was in Russia. At length, the physician reluctantly consented to make a trial of the radish-juice; which, indeed, cured the swelling, but reduced his limbs to mere skin and bone. He was then afflicted with such severe pains, that he frequently cried like a child, and wished for death to release him from his sufferings. The Japanese physician gave him a decoction of herbs, and put him into a warm bath, in which a bag containing roots and herbs had previously been soaked. These applications repeated for the space of seven months completely cured him.

remarked that every person who visited us congratulated us on receiving this treat, and we concluded that it came from the Bunyo. But we afterwards learnt, that the dinner was sent to us by a rich man who was suffering under a dangerous fit of illness, and that in such cases it was customary for the Japanese to send presents of that sort to the poor and unfortunate.

On the afternoon of the 6th of September, Mr. Moor and I were conducted to the castle, where we found assembled all the most distinguished officers, with the exception of the Bunyo, who was confined through illness. They shewed us two papers which had been sent ashore from the *Diana*, and which were dated the 28th of of August.* The first was a letter from Mr. Rikord, the commander of the *Diana*, to the Governor of Kunashier, in which he stated that he had, by command of the Emperor of Russia, conveyed to their native country certain Japanese who had been saved on the coasts of Kamtschatka after

* Had the papers been sent from the sloop on the day on which they were dated, they would probably not reach Kunashier until the evening of the 28th. They were received in Matsmai on the morning of the 6th of September. They were, consequently, seven days and a half upon the road, and owing to their importance, they were, no doubt, conveyed with the greatest possible dispatch. The Japanese reckon the distance from Kunashier to Matsmai, by land, to be about two hundred and eighty rees, that is to say, one thousand two hundred wersts. From this instance, some notion may therefore be formed of the speed with which couriers travel express in Japan.

shipwreck, and among whom was a Matsmai merchant, named *Leonsaimo*. He further informed the Governor, that the *Diana* was the same vessel which, about a year before, had, in consequence of the want of wood and water, entered that harbour; and the captain of which, together with two officers, four sailors and a Kurile, had been enticed into the garrison, treacherously detained, and of whose fate their countrymen were ignorant. He, likewise, assured the Governor of Kunashier of the friendly disposition entertained by the Emperor of Russia towards the Japanese; requested to know whether the Governor could himself grant us our liberty, and if not, to be informed how soon he might expect, from the Japanese Government, an answer to his demand for our liberation. He, moreover, wished to know where we were, and intimated that he would not quit the harbour until all his inquiries were answered. In conclusion, he begged permission to take on board the vessel a supply of fresh water.

Mr. Rikord's letter was couched in highly respectful and well chosen terms: at the same time he manifested that decision which in such cases is necessary, when he intimated his determination not to quit the harbour until he should receive satisfactory answers to all his demands.

The second paper was a letter from Mr. Rikord to me. He informed me of his arrival at Kuna-

shier, and stated that he had sent to the Governor of the island an explanation of the object of his voyage, both in the Russian and Japanese languages. As he knew not whether I was dead or living, he requested, in case the Japanese would not permit me to write an answer, that I would tear out the line of his letter which contained the word "living," and return it to him by the Japanese whom he had sent on shore, to satisfy him respecting our fate. I experienced a powerful emotion on reading this letter from my worthy shipmate and intimate friend; it even made an impression on Mr. Moor, who began from that moment to manifest his former friendship to us.

In conformity with the wish of the Japanese, we gave them a verbal translation of the letters, and they desired us to take copies of both, that with the help of Kumaddschero, we might make written translations. They kept the originals in their own possession.

My companions were overjoyed on hearing of the arrival of the *Diana*. It was evident from Mr. Rikord's letter that the Russian Government was not disposed to adopt violent measures; but wished, by gentle means, to convince the Japanese of their error. In the meanwhile, we experienced all the agitation of alternate fear and hope. We begged permission to write to Mr. Rikord, if it were only a single line, to inform him that we were still living. Our attendants undertook to

make this request known to the Bunyo; but we were informed that this permission could not be granted without an order from the capital. We asked the interpreter and the guards whether our countrymen had been well treated by the Japanese at Kunashier, and whether their inquiries had been answered. They replied, that they could not give us any precise information, but that they believed all we could wish for had been done.

Meanwhile the papers were translated, and immediately sent off to Yeddo; but we knew nothing of the orders which were transmitted to the Governor of Kunashier. Kumaddschero informed us that Captain Rikord had come with two vessels, the one with two and the other with three masts,* and that he had sent four Japanese ashore one after the other. The latter circumstance, as it augured nothing favourable, gave us some uneasiness. From the Japanese being sent ashore one after the other, we apprehended that Captain Rikord had received no answer to his inquiries.

Mr. Moor now endeavoured to renew his friendship with us. He sent me a book, in which was concealed a slip of paper, informing me that there were eighty men on board one of our ships, and forty men and four women on board the other. This he had learnt from one of the guards.

* The latter was the *Diana*.

Two officers (Shrabiyagus) appeared on the 20th of September, and by order of the Governor informed us that the Russian ships had, a few days before, sailed from Kunashier * without leaving any letters either for us or the Japanese. After a short pause the officers added, that our ships had detained a Japanese vessel bound from Eetooroop to Kunashier, and had carried off five of the crew. They inquired what could have been the object of our countrymen in doing this. We replied that we knew not, but that they had probably carried off the men in the hope of obtaining some positive information respecting our fate; and that in that case they would, doubtless, send them back in the following year. This is our opinion likewise, observed the officers, and immediately took their leave.

We were much concerned at hearing this news, particularly as we knew not under what circumstances the capture of the Japanese had taken place. We were at a loss to conjecture whether these five men composed the whole crew of the Japanese ship, † or whether Captain Rikord

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* The 10th or 11th of September, according to our reckoning.

† When Chwostoff captured a Japanese ship near Sagaleen, the crew jumped overboard, in the hope of swimming ashore. Four men, however, concealed themselves in the vessel, and were made prisoners. We feared that an accident of a similar nature had again occurred.

had selected them from among the rest. We were moreover ignorant in what way our countrymen had treated the Japanese, and also what had become of the vessel. But we were most of all distressed by the answers of our interpreters and guards, who constantly declared that they knew nothing of the matter whenever we questioned them concerning this event. Two of the guards, at the same time, regarded us with feelings of hatred, which they could not conceal; and, in an angry tone, told the sailors that since the Russians had captured a Japanese ship, we might give up all hopes of being set at liberty.

Mr. Moor at length communicated, by writing on slips of paper, and sending them to me in books, information which he had obtained from one of the guards who was more talkative than the rest;* but he begged that I would not distress my companions by discovering it completely to them. As our ships approached Kunashier, the Japanese began to fire upon them from the garrison; the shot, however, did not reach them, and without regarding the attack of the castle, they proceeded quietly to take on board a supply of fresh water. In the meanwhile

* Two guards were stationed near us, and only one with Mr. Moor: this difference was, perhaps, the reason why our guards never ventured to communicate any secrets to us.

a Japanese vessel approached the harbour, and a boat was dispatched from one of our ships to board it. On seeing this, several of the crew of the Japanese vessel, through fear, plunged into the water, and six were drowned. * When the Russians took the vessel, they put all the Japanese, who were on board, in fetters; but on being informed that we were alive, they immediately relieved them from that situation, gave them presents, and detaining only five, set all the rest free, and restored the vessel to them. I moreover learnt from Mr. Moor that the Japanese Government had condemned Alexei's companions, the Kuriles, to forfeit their heads, on discovering that they had been sent by the Russians as spies to inspect the villages and fortresses of Japan; but the generous Arrao-Madsimano-Kami represented that the Japanese would disgrace themselves by putting to death these unfortunate Kuriles, who, instead of acting from any will of their own, had been compelled blindly to obey the orders of the Russians. He, therefore, proposed that, after giving them presents, they should be set at liberty, and the Government adopted his humane advice. This circumstance did not correspond with the assurance we had formerly received, namely, that no foreigner could suffer corporeal punishment in Japan. But we re-

* We afterwards learned that nine men had been drowned.

flected that the Japanese might have regarded the Kuriles as their subjects, * though they did not publicly declare them to be such, through dread of involving themselves in a war with Russia. Besides, the information which Mr. Moor received from the guard might have been false, and we dared not question the interpreters on the subject, lest an investigation should have immediately followed to ascertain how these circumstances came to our knowledge.

When we inquired what had been said by the Japanese who returned from Russia, our interpreter Kumaddschero replied, that they confirmed all our declarations. He, besides, informed us that one of them, named Gorodsee, had been carried

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* I must here observe, that the Japanese always made our clothes be cut in the European fashion. We likewise saluted the officers according to the European manner, and sat on benches which were provided for us without any solicitation on our part. But Alexei, though he wore a Russian sailor's dress at the time he was taken prisoner, was ever afterwards furnished with Japanese clothes, and was obliged to shew his respect to the Governor and the officers in the Japanese style. The interpreters frequently told us that it was more than three hundred years since the Japanese had visited the Kurile Islands as far as Kamtschatka; that they might easily have retained possession of them; and that the Kuriles and Japanese were originally the same people. In support of this assertion they referred to the number of words which are common to both languages. The conjecture is, indeed, not improbable. I believe also that they must have visited Kamtschatka frequently, for they call it by the same name as the Kamtschatdales themselves do, namely, KURUMYSCHI. They have, besides, adopted many other Kamtschatdale names.

off by Chwostoff from the Island of Eetooroop.* In Captain Rikord's papers this man was stated to be a Matsmai merchant, named Leonsaimo;† because he had thought it necessary to deceive the Russians; and had, under an assumed name, represented himself to be a merchant. In fact, he had been employed by a merchant as overseer of a fishery at Eetooroop. One of his companions who was carried off along with him died, after they had made their escape from Okotzk, in consequence of eating too great a quantity of whale-flesh. Gorodsee had, however, been taken by the Tongusians who delivered him up to the Russians. Kumaddschero's assurance that the declarations of the Japanese who had been sent home, perfectly coincided with ours, was confirmed by the circumstance of the Bunyo sending us new silk dresses, although we by no means stood in need of a fresh supply of clothes.‡ We were convinced, from this circumstance, that the Japanese must have spoken well of the Russians.

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* This circumstance was not mentioned in Captain Rikord's letters.

† On reading the papers, the Japanese immediately observed that there was no merchant of that name in Matsmai, and that he must belong to some other place.

‡ The Japanese being informed that one of our sailors had learned the trade of a tailor, they merely sent us the stuff, in order that we might have our clothes made in whatever way we pleased. For the sake of convenience we all wore the dress of the common sailors, consisting of loose trowsers and a jacket.

Some time after this Mr. Moor informed us that the Bunyo was dead, but that the Japanese laws required that his death should be kept secret for a certain time.* Two days afterwards one of our guards, a man of seventy, likewise informed us of this event, begging we would not mention it to any of the Japanese. We were concerned to hear of the Bunyo's death, for the Japanese all assured us that he was an excellent man, and was disposed to shew us every kindness.

About the middle of October, Mr. Moor and I were conducted to the castle, where the two senior officers of state,† together with several

* In Japan the law or custom requires that the death of an officer should not be mentioned, until the Government has either filled up the vacancy, or conferred some rank on his eldest son. If he dies without a son, the rest of his family, or his nearest relations receive some mark of favour by way of diminishing the grief occasioned by his loss. This secrecy is, however, only publicly observed; the news is generally communicated in a confidential way from one to another, until, in a short time, it is known to every body.

† One of these officers, named TAKA-HASSI-SAMPEI, had been but a short time in Matsmai. He was the eldest of the two, and his rank was that of a Ginmiyaku. We found him to be an extremely humane man. The kindness with which he treated us may, perhaps, be accounted for, from his having, in his youth, been visited by a misfortune similar to our own. He had been in the service of the reigning Prince of Matsmai. As he was sailing through the Straits of Sangar a storm arose; the ship lost her mast, and rudder, and was driven on the coast of China, where the crew were all made prisoners by the Chinese, and kept in confinement for six years. Their explanations having at last proved satisfactory, they were set at liberty, and permitted to return to

others, had assembled. They shewed us a letter which had been given to one of the Japanese on leaving the Russian ship; and which, they observed, the man had mislaid in consequence of having occasion to dry his clothes; they had, therefore, been unable to produce it before; and now requested that we would translate it. We immediately perceived the cunning of the Japanese; for the fact was, that they could not shew us the letter until they received an order to that effect from the capital. I laughed, and observed that I knew the real cause which had prevented the letter from being sooner produced. Upon this the Japanese laughed likewise, and, seemed not unwilling to acknowledge their readiness at inventing excuses.

The letter was from Mr. Rudakoff, one of the Lieutenants of the *Diana*, to Mr. Moor. It stated, that the Japanese commandant at Kunashier had sent back Mr. Rikord's messenger with the answer that we had all been put to death. Captain Rikord, therefore, resolved to commence hostilities, and ac-

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Japan. The law excluding from the public service every Japanese who has lived in a foreign country, did not then exist in the principality of Matsmai, and SAMPEI was accordingly restored to the service of the prince. After Chwostoff's attacks the principality was converted into an imperial province, but TAKA-HASSI-SAMPEI did not, on that account, lose his post. We were, however, assured by some that this law is not enforced against Japanese who may visit China, but merely against those who have lived among Christians.

cordingly captured a Japanese vessel, on board of which was the commander of ten ships.* Our countrymen learned, from the crew of this vessel, that we were all living and in Matsmai; they, therefore, looked upon the account of our death as a fabrication imposed on the Japanese, whom they had sent ashore, and resolved to discontinue hostilities. They had, however, thought proper to detain the commander, four Japanese, and a Kurile, allowing the rest to depart with the vessel. They then determined to sail back to Kamtschatka, and to obtain from the Japanese more circumstantial evidence respecting us. Mr. Rudakoff concluded his letter by intimating that he would return to Matsmai in the following year, wishing us health, &c.

We were requested to explain this letter to the Japanese, and then to take a copy of it in order to make out a written translation. Its perusal afforded us at least this satisfaction, that the ill conduct of the Japanese towards Russia was now self-evident, and that if our Emperor entertained

* He was not only the commander, but the owner of these ships. Besides being a rich merchant, he was a man of uncommon abilities and upright principles, and his countrymen treated him with the highest consideration. Even the superior officers of state shewed him particular marks of respect. He was beloved by all who knew him. Captain Rikord and his officers must have immediately recognised him to be a person of distinction, as individuals of his rank have, when abroad, the privilege of wearing a sabre and dagger.

any intention of punishing their want of faith, the justifiable grounds of any attack he might make upon them could not be disputed.

Whilst Mr. Moor was copying the letter, I asked the Japanese officers, with some marks of indignation, whether the Governor of Kunashier had really returned such an answer to Mr. Rikord as that stated; and if so, what could have induced him to resort to a mean falsehood, which might have been attended with very disagreeable, if not dangerous consequences to Japan? "We know nothing of the matter," was their reply. On my inquiry whether such conduct was customary among them, they expressed some displeasure.

The translation of the letter was forwarded to Yeddo without delay. Mr. Rudakoff's letter having made us better acquainted with the circumstances of the affair between our countrymen and the Japanese at Kunashier, Kumaddschero thought fit to inform us that the Japanese, who had returned from Okotzk, and in particular Leonsaimo, or Gorodsee, positively asserted that Russia intended to declare war against Japan, and that she had, in the meanwhile, assumed a pacific tone merely with a view to obtain our liberation. This man, it was true, stated that Chwostoff and Davydoff were arrested on their arrival at Okotzk; but he asserted that they soon made their escape from prison, and insinuated that they had been confined merely because they brought back too

few Japanese prisoners, and an insufficient booty. He observed that they must have acted by order of the Government, because nobody in Okotzk had told him that they were imprisoned on account of their conduct towards the Japanese. He, moreover, asserted that all the Japanese property, though at first placed under sequestration, was ultimately sold in the warehouses of the American Company.

Unfortunately, we were but too certain, that the Japanese spoke truth; but how could we convince them that all this was attributable to the weakness of the commandant of Okotzk, and the misconduct of the officers of the company? How could we contradict Leonsaimo's statement, and prove that our Government intended no hostilities towards the Japanese? We had, also, the mortification to learn, that the Japanese, who had saved themselves from shipwreck on the coast of Kamtschatka, and had wintered there, gave a very bad account of the Russians. They had lived for some time with a priest in Nischny-Kamtschatsk, and were then very well satisfied with their treatment; but when they were removed to Malka, a Kamtschatdale village, they were supplied with nothing but dried fish for their food,* and were allowed hardly a rag of clothing to cover them.

* We afterwards learned that the civil Governor of Irkutzk allotted a considerable sum for the maintenance of these men. As,

On the 1st of November, Mr. Moor and I were again conveyed to the castle, where we were shewn a certificate which had been delivered to Leonsaimo by Captain Minitzky, of the Japanese navy, Governor of Okotzk. According to custom, the Japanese officers apologized for not having produced this paper sooner, and blamed the stupidity of Leonsaimo, for having kept it so long in his possession without saying a word about it. But we were not so simple as to put faith in this tale; as we knew that it would have been impossible for the Japanese who returned in the *Diana*, to have concealed any thing they brought ashore with them, far less an official paper under an imperial seal, which had evidently been brought from Okotzk. This certificate stated, that Chwostoff had acted without authority, and that his conduct had accordingly exposed him to the displeasure of the Government; and, moreover, that Leonsaimo with his companion had twice fled from Okotzk without waiting for permission to return to their native country, which was, however, granted after their second escape. Finally, Captain Minitzky expressed his approbation of the good conduct of Leonsaimo during the time he had lived in Okotzk.

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however, it was pretty certain that their complaints would never reach Irkutzk, the Toion or chief of the village of Malka had probably appropriated the money to some other purpose,

Having verbally explained this document, we carried away a copy to make a translation, which was immediately forwarded to the capital along with the original.

On the 8th of November, the Japanese, whom Captain Rikord had put ashore at Kunashier, arrived at Matsmai, and were quartered in the house whence we had made our escape. They all underwent an examination; and Kumaddschero, who was present, repeated what he had before told us, namely, that his countrymen spoke unfavourably of the Russians; and that Leonsaimo praised Irkutzk, but represented Okotzk, and the whole eastern part of Siberia, as being a poor miserable country, where he saw scarcely any human beings, except beggars and government officers. These Japanese remained about a week in Matsmai, and were then sent to Yeddo.

About this time, in one of my meetings with Mr. Moor, he informed me that our friend, the old Bunyo, had fallen into disgrace; and that his property had been seized. We were much concerned at hearing this, and had, besides, the mortification to reflect that Teske, in his letters,* though he did not state any thing positively, rather hinted that our business did not stand in the

* His letters, though written in the Russian language, were composed in such a way that no Russian could have understood them. But we were acquainted with the expressions and phrases he had been accustomed to make use of when in conversation

most favourable state. In December, however, Kumaddschero informed us, as a great secret, that he had dreamt we were all liberated. He added, that he was sure his dream would be realized, for he had learned from an officer of distinction, just returned from the capital, that our case was expected to have a favourable issue; and that Mr. Rikord's generous treatment of the Japanese, whom he had seized on board the vessel off Kunashier, had not only gained him the esteem of the government, but likewise of all the inhabitants of the capital.* A note from Mr. Moor confirmed this intelligence, with the addition, that he had learned from one of the guards, that our things, which had been conveyed to Yeddo, were sent back to Matsmai, and that thoughts were entertained of restoring us to our native country.

A ray of hope now began to dawn upon us, and seemed to rescue us from despair. Thus perplexed between the expectation of liberty and distrust of the Japanese, we entered upon the new year 1813.

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with us; and could, therefore, discover his meaning without much difficulty We answered his letters, likewise, in Russian, making choice of such words as he was familiar with Mr. Chlebnikoff once wrote to him a Japanese letter in the Russian character, which Teske perfectly well understood.

* Kumaddschero and other Japanese told us that their countrymen, who had been seized on board the vessel, spoke in the most satisfactory way of the conduct of Captain Rikord. When he heard that we were still living, he ordered all the Japanese who

During the month of January, we received several letters from Teske in answer to those which we had addressed to him. In one of these letters, he plainly told us that the decision of our affair was still very doubtful, as various circumstances tended to prepossess the Government against us; and that all, which had been alleged in our justification, had hitherto been insufficient to remove prejudices that were of long standing and firmly rooted. Teske appropriately reminded us of the Japanese proverb: "A fog cannot be dispelled with a fan."* This communication from our best friend

had been taken to be unbound, treated them with great attention, and gave them presents. The wife of the rich merchant, whom he conveyed to Russia, was on board the captured vessel. Captain Rikord took her on board the *Diana*, and desired the Russian women to give her refreshments, and to shew her over the ship. But she wept the whole time, seemed greatly terrified, and paid attention to nothing. When Captain Rikord sent her back to her husband's vessel, he presented her with an amber necklace, which the Japanese valued at thirty of their gold pieces (a coin about the same weight as a Russian imperial). He then permitted the merchant to write to his relations, informing them that he should certainly be brought back in the following year, and that in the meanwhile he was lodged in the cabin with Captain Rikord, with whom he was to reside until his return to Japan. These marks of attention to their countrymen pleased the Japanese exceedingly. Kumaddschero assured us that Captain Rikord at first intended to take only this merchant and a Kurile as his interpreter; but four Japanese voluntarily offered to remain with their master.

* In all countries people form their proverbs from those objects which are immediately before their eyes. The coasts of Japan are frequently enveloped in fog. From the age of five the Japanese of both sexes carry fans during the summer season. These circumstances, have of course, given rise to the proverb.

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was very discouraging; and besides, our guards openly informed us that Arrao-Madsimano-Kami had been removed from his office of Bunyo of Matsmai, and that another nobleman was already appointed to fill his place.

To this unlucky circumstance was added another, which occasioned us no less uneasiness. In the beginning of February all the letters, which Teske had addressed to Mr. Moor, were seized.* One of our attendants, whom Teske's brother had entrusted to carry a letter to Mr. Moor, was so imprudent as to deliver it in the presence of the sentinel on duty. The latter observed it, and instantly raised an alarm. The servant was discharged, a serjeant or corporal was sent to superintend our military guard,† and we were treated with some degree of incivility; but on our complaining of the conduct of our attendants, they were ordered to behave as respectfully towards us as before. But what we most of all feared was that the correspondence of our friend Teske might be attended with serious consequences to himself, as his letters

* Mr. Chlebnikoff and I fortunately had time to burn those which he had written to us.

† Old men are usually appointed to the rank which corresponds with that of a serjeant or corporal. They are styled KUMINO-KASSHRA, or rice-commissaries, because their business chiefly consists in receiving rice from the magazines, and dealing it out among the soldiers; for, in Japan, a portion of the soldiers' pay is given in rice. In Matsmai, and on the Kurile Islands, they receive a small sum of money along with the rice.

contained many expressions calculated to give offence to the Japanese Government.* Kumaddschero and our guards, indeed, assured us that no notice would be taken of the contents of these letters; but we could not place much faith in what they said.

In the middle of February Kumaddschero informed us that our business was settled; but that nobody, without incurring the risk of a severe punishment could venture to make known the decision before the arrival of the new Bunyo.† He, however, assured us that the Japanese Government had decided on nothing to our disadvantage. This piece of news plunged us into the most perplexing uncertainty; what resolution had been adopted we could not possibly guess, since all that could be collected from Kumaddschero's information was, that it was neither good nor bad. We anxiously waited for the appearance of the new Governor, on whose arrival the riddle was to receive its solution.

Mr. Chlebnikoff had been extremely melancholy ever since the 11th of March. He some-

* For instance, in one letter he styled his countrymen in Kunashier, "Stupid Japanese." In another he made use of the following words: "The Russians act with generosity, but our officers cannot perceive it." He called Gorodsee a *dog*, for the bad account he had given of the Russians, &c.

† His name was CHATTORI BINGONO-KAMI.

times tasted no food for whole days together, and was unable to sleep. In the course of time, however, his spirits began to revive; but his health was never completely restored, until he re-embarked on board the *Diana*.

CHAPTER IV.

On the 18th of March the new Bunyo arrived, and entered on his office. His suite included several officers, our friend Teske, a member of the Japanese academy, named Adati-Sannay, and an interpreter of the Dutch language, named Baba-Sadseeroo. Teske was eager to prove that his attachment to us was undiminished. He had no sooner landed than he hastened to visit us, even before he had seen his father or any of his relations, brought us sweetmeats,* and consoled us with the information that the new Bunyo had been directed to correspond with the Russians; and that orders were to be immediately transmitted to all forts and harbours, to prohibit the firing on the Russian ships.

From the account which Teske gave us, our benefactor Arrao-Madsimano-Kami appeared more noble and generous than ever. He informed us that the Japanese Government, had determined not to listen to any conciliatory proposals on the part of Russia, as from all that had transpired, and

* He never forgot to send us preserves and other dainties along with letters from the capital.

in particular the declaration of Leonsaimo, they could expect nothing but falsehood, fraud and hostility.

Arrao-Madsimano-Kami, however, questioned Leonsaimo in the presence of the new Bunyo, convicted him of prevarication in his answers, and brought him to acknowledge that all he had asserted respecting the hostile intentions of Russia towards Japan, and Chwostoff's having acted by order of the Government, had been merely uttered at random. He moreover sought to overthrow the grounds on which the members of the Government rested their opinions. He represented to them that they ought not to judge of the laws and customs of other nations by their own, and at length prevailed on them to resolve to enter into explanations with the nearest Russian commander. He likewise made strong representations against the Japanese Government prohibiting Russian ships, even coming with explanations, from entering any other port than that of Nangasaky, and observed that the Russians would thereby be led to believe that another trap was prepared for them; for how could they be convinced that the Japanese were inclined to act candidly and honourably when they required the Russian vessels to undertake so long a voyage, to settle an affair which might be decided equally well, and infinitely more promptly, in any harbour of the Kurile Islands.

The members of the Government having, in

answer to his representations, urged that they could not, without violating their laws, permit Russian vessels to enter any other port than that of Nangasaky, he made the following remarkable reply: "Since the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, which are the creation of the Almighty, are variable in their course, the Japanese laws, the work of weak mortals, cannot be eternal and unchangeable."*—By these arguments he prevailed on the Government to order the Bunyo of Matsmai to correspond with our ships, without requiring them to sail to Nangasaky.

Teske, moreover, informed us, that though Arrao-Madsimano-Kami was no longer one of the Bunyos of Matsmai, he had obtained a more important post, though the emoluments attached to his present office were somewhat less considerable,†

* Teske assured us, that no other individual in Japan would havedared to give such an answer to the Government. But Arrao-Madsimano-Kami, who, on account of his superior understanding and virtuous principles, was universally known and beloved by the people, feared not to speak the truth. He was brother-in-law to the Governor-General of the capital, an office which is filled only by individuals near the imperial person. He was, besides, brother to one of the Emperor's mistresses.—The importance of the latter connection will be readily enough understood in Europe.

† His salary in Matsmai was about three thousand large gold pieces, each of which somewhat exceeds in weight a Russian imperial; but I cannot pronounce any judgment on the purity of the gold. He, besides, received rice to the amount of an equal and sometimes a greater sum, according as the value of the article varied.

because every thing was much dearer in Matsmai than in the capital, where he was, in future, to reside. He was now appointed Governor of all the Imperial Palaces in the Empire of Japan.

Teske staid so long conversing with us that his father sent for him twice; he did not, however, take leave of us until he had completely removed all our apprehensions.

A day or two after the arrival of the Bunyo, Kumaddschero informed us that the chief officer, the Giumiyaku Sampey, wished us to teach the academician and the Dutch interpreter, who had arrived from the capital, the Russian language, and to give them, as far as we were able, any other instruction they might desire. I expressed my surprise, that before the new Bunyo had given us an audience or communicated th decision of the Japanese Government, we should be required to instruct persons who had been sent from the capital.

I asked Mr. Moor, through the partition which separated our apartments, what he thought of this proposal, and he made the following reply: "Until the Bunyo makes us acquainted with the decision on our case, nothing shall induce me to comply with his request; but whenever he shall make that communication, I am ready to work, day and night, in giving the Japanese instructions."—I proposed that we should devote an hour or two every day to instructing these men until

the Russian ships arrived; we should then perceive what were the real views of the Japanese Government respecting us, and be able to adopt measures accordingly. But Mr. Moor would listen to nothing of the kind. I was unable to guess the cause of this obstinacy, but supposed that he wished, by his present zeal, to make his former conduct be forgotten.—But the mystery was soon unravelled in a different way.

Kumaddschero went away without having received any decisive answer to his message. A few days afterwards, Mr. Moor and I were conducted to the castle, where the two principal officers, in the presence of several others, informed us that they had been directed to write to the Russians, who would probably soon approach the coasts of Japan with their ships, and to request an explanation of Chwostoff's conduct from the commander of the nearest Russian Government or district. They accordingly intended to send off letters to this effect to the different harbours of the nothern Japanese possessions.* The translations, they observed, must be executed by Teske, Kumaddschero and us. The interpreter then explained the contents of the Japanese letter, in order that we might be able to state our opinion respecting the proposition it contained.

The letter appeared to me extremely well writ-

* Kunashier, Eetooroop, Sagaleen, Atkis and Chakodade.

ten. I thanked the Japanese for having adopted measures which would probably spare much useless bloodshed both to Russia and Japan, and stated my conviction that our Government would not fail to return a satisfactory answer. They then informed me that, in case our ships entered the ports of Matsmai or Chakodade, they proposed sending the letter on board by one or two of our sailors. I expressed my approval of this plan, as our countrymen would thereby be convinced that we were still in existence. I, at the same time, begged that they would permit me to write a few small notes which might be sent along with the copies of their letter to the other fortified harbours, to intimate to our friends that we were all well in health. To this the Japanese gave their assent, but observed that these notes must be as brief as possible, and as it would be necessary to send them to Yeddo, to receive the sanction of the Government, they advised us to write them speedily. This advice I followed without delay on my return to the place of our confinement, and then set about the translation of the Japanese letter, in which Mr. Moor and Alexei assisted.

About this time the two learned Japanese, namely, the academician and the Dutch interpreter paid us their first visit. We merely exchanged compliments, and they made no allusion to the object of their journey. They brought us some sweetmeats, and urgently solicited that we would

give them a French dictionary and one or two other French books.

Soon after, Mr. Moor addressed me in the following remarkable way: "You, who are the cause of our misfortune," said he, "should not be the first to go on board our ship; ANDREY ILYITSCH, meaning Mr. Chlebnikoff, is almost at death's door, and the sailors are too stupid to arrange any thing with propriety. It will, therefore, be best to send me on board the ship, accompanied by Alexei, who has been three years in imprisonment, whilst our sailors have lived only two years in Japan. But I cannot make this request to the Japanese, you must therefore do so, for your fate depends upon it. If you neglect to follow this advice, you are lost."—"How so?" I inquired. —"For reasons which are well known to me," replied Mr. Moor, in an emphatic tone.—I observed that the Japanese Government must be consulted before any new arrangement could be determined on, and as this would necessarily occasion loss of time, I could not think of making the application he wished for.—"Then," said he, "you will repent of your error when it will be too late."

I was at a loss to divine the meaning of these threats. On the following day Mr. Moor again addressed me through the partition. One of the soldiers, he said, had informed him, that the Japanese intended to entrap the commander of a Russian ship, and a party of officers and sailors, equal

in number to ourselves, and then to let us free, as it were, in exchange for them. This circumstance, he observed, might occasion bloodshed; he, therefore advised me to reflect, and to permit him to go on board first, as he could, of course, render the matter more intelligible than the sailors. He would induce Captain Rikord to take care that we should all be safely given up to him.—No child could have been imposed on by such a story as this. What soldier would have ventured to divulge so important a secret? and yet Mr. Moor stated a prudent old man of seventy to be the author of his information. I coolly replied, that no credit could be given to the statement. But Mr. Moor would not suffer the affair to rest here. He shortly afterwards told me, that the Japanese intended to capture our ships, together with the whole of their crews, and then to send an embassy to Okotzk, on board of a Japanese vessel. He said he had received this intelligence from the old man, and likewise from a young soldier, and insisted on being sent to Captain Rikord instead of the sailors. This invention was even more laughable than the former. I merely replied, "Heaven's will be done!" and said no more on the subject.

We had now finished translating the letter which was to be sent on board our ships. It was addressed thus: "From the Ginmiyaks, the two chief commanders next to the Bunyo of Matsmai, to the Commander of the Russian ships."

The contents were briefly as follow:—"The Japanese, in as far as was consistent with their laws, maintained intercourse with the Ambassador Resanoff, in Nangasaky; but, though they offered him not the least provocation, the Russian ships had, without the slightest reason, commenced hostilities on the coasts of Japan. Accordingly, when the *Diana* appeared, the Commander of Kunashier, who, of course, regarded the Russians as the enemies of his country, took seven of the crew prisoners. These men have, indeed, declared, that the conduct of the Commander of those ships was unauthorised by the Government, but as prisoners, the Japanese cannot give credit to what they say. They, therefore, wish to have their account confirmed by higher authority, and this confirmation must be sent to Chakodade."

"The Japanese wished us to translate this document with the utmost precision, and to adhere as closely as possible to the literal meaning. They required that the words in the translation should follow each other in the same order as in the original, wherever the idiom of both languages would permit of their doing so, and they directed us to pay no regard to elegance of style. This translation accordingly occupied us for several days together, from morning to night;—even when we had finished it the Bunyo sent it back several times, requesting us to make corrections, which he pointed out. At length the task being completed, we made several copies of

the letter, which we put up under covers, in the European style, with Russian superscriptions. They were then sent off to the different harbours.

On the 27th of March we were introduced to the new Bunyo. He was a young man about thirty-five years of age, handsome, and had a very pleasing expression of countenance. His suite consisted of eight individuals, as he was superior in rank to the two former Bunyos. After asking our names and ranks, he addressed us as the other Governors had formerly done, and gave us reason to hope that the business between the Japanese Government and us would terminate in the way we wished. He questioned us respecting our health, and whether we were satisfied with the food with which we were supplied, and then withdrew. We returned home, accompanied by the interpreters.

We this day overheard a conversation between Mr. Moor and the interpreters, which filled us with horror. He asked Teske to obtain for him a private interview with the Bunyo, as he had something of great importance to communicate to him. Teske replied, that the Bunyo would not grant an interview unless he were first informed, through the interpreters, what was the nature of the business which rendered a private conference necessary. Mr. Moor then declared, that the object of our voyage had been to make observations on the southern Kurile Islands, which are under the dominion of the Japanese; but for what reason the

Russian Government had ordered me to make these observations I alone could inform them, as I never communicated my instructions to the officers. He further stated, that we had concealed various circumstances from the Japanese, and in our translations had construed many passages in a way different from their real meaning, &c. On hearing this, Teske asked him whether he had lost his senses, as such declarations would, of course, prove as injurious to himself as they could be to us? Mr. Moor replied, that he was perfectly aware of what he was doing, and that he was resolved to confess the truth. Teske now lost all patience, and told him, that, even allowing he did speak truth, it was now too late, as a decision had taken place, and if satisfactory explanations were received from Russia, we would be immediately set at liberty. Mr. Moor, however, insisted on being taken before the Bunyo, upon which Teske became irritated, and left him. He then entered our apartment, and told us, that if Mr. Moor were not mad he must have a very *black* heart. On the following day Mr. Moor, indeed, discoursed like one who was bereft of reason, but whether his derangement was real or counterfeit Heaven only knows.

Two days afterwards, Mr. Moor having expressed a wish to be again confined along with us, the Japanese conducted him and Alexei to our apartment.

We were now daily visited by the Dutch interpreter and the man of learning, whom we have styled

the academician, because he was a member of a learned society, somewhat resembling our academies. The interpreter began to fill up and improve the Russian vocabularies: he used to refer to a French and Dutch Lexicon, in order to inquire through the French for such Russian words as he did not know; he then searched for these words in a Russian Lexicon, which he had in his possession. He was a man about twenty-seven years of age, and as he possessed an excellent memory, and considerable knowledge of grammar, he made a rapid progress in acquiring the Russian language. This induced me to attempt to compile a Russian grammar for him, as well as I could from mere recollection.*

The academician employed himself in translating

* Having no books by the help of which I could compose a complete grammar, I was forced to content myself with what I could put together from memory. I devoted more than four months to the completion of this task. In the preface I stated, that should it ever chance to fall into the hands of a Russian, or any individual who understood our language, the circumstances under which it was written must be taken into account. All the examples which I introduced bore a reference to the relations between Russia and Japan, and were so contrived as to recommend the approximation and friendship of both nations. With this the Japanese were highly pleased. They eagerly set about translating my manuscript, and though it formed a tolerably large volume, they soon accomplished the task. Teske and Baba-Sadseerco, particularly the latter, were extremely quick in comprehending the rules of grammar, but they could not find time to learn them by heart. I besides translated into Russian, some French and Dutch dialogues which were in a French grammar, and they proved very useful to the Dutch interpreter in learning our language.

from the Russian, a work on arithmetic, published at Petersburgh for the use of the public schools, and which had been brought to Japan by Kodia.* In explaining the arithmetical rules we soon observed that he possessed considerable knowledge of the subject, and that he only wished to be made acquainted with the Russian demonstrations. I was curious to know how far his knowledge of mathematics extended, and frequently conversed with him on matters connected with that science. But as our interpreters entertained not the slightest notion of the subject, I found it impossible to make all the inquiries I wished. I will, however, state a few circumstances, which may enable the reader to form some idea of the mathematical knowledge of the Japanese. The academician once asked me whether the Russians, like the Dutch, reckoned according to the new style. When I replied that the Russians reckoned by the old style, he requested me to explain to him the distinction between the old and new styles, and what occasioned the difference between them, which I accordingly did. He then observed, that the new mode of reckoning was by no means exact, because, after a certain number of centuries a difference of twenty-four hours would again arise. I readily perceived that he questioned

* A Japanese whom Laxman conveyed back to his native country in 1792.

me merely to discover how far I was informed on a subject with which he was perfectly familiar. The Japanese consider the copernican the true system of the universe. The orbit and satellites of Uranus are known to them, but they know nothing of the planets, which have been more recently discovered.

Mr. Chlebnikoff employed himself in the calculation of logarithms, of natural signs and tangents, and other tables connected with navigation, which he completed, after incredible labour and application. When the academician was shewn these tables, he immediately recognised the logarithms, and drew a figure to convince us that he was also acquainted with the nature of the signs and tangents. In order to ascertain whether the Japanese knew how to demonstrate geometrical truths, I asked whether they were perfectly convinced that in a right angled triangle the square of the hypothenuse is equal to the squares of the other two sides? He answered in the affirmative. I then asked how they were certain of this fact, and in reply he demonstrated it very clearly. Having drawn a figure with a pair of compasses on paper, he cut out the three squares, folded the squares of the two short sides into a number of triangles, and also cut out these triangles; then laying the several triangles on the surface of the large square, he made them exactly cover and fit it.

The academician assured us that the Japanese

calculate with great precision the eclipses of the sun and moon.* This is not improbable; for they have a translation of De Lalande's Astronomy, and, as I have already observed, a European astronomer resides in their capital.

Teske and Kumaddschero generally came to visit us along with the academician and the Dutch interpreter. They usually staid with us the whole forenoon, and sometimes all day. This time was not wholly devoted to scientific investigations; our visitors frequently entertained us by relating singular occurrences and interesting anecdotes. Among other things, Teske gave us an account of the examination of Léonsaimo or Gorodsée, the Japanese, who had returned from Russia, which took place in the presence of the new Bunyo and Arrao-Madsimano-Kami. On being asked how he had been treated by the Russians, he spoke with the highest praise and gratitude of the Governor of

* In August, 1812, an eclipse of the moon was visible in this quarter of the world. The Japanese, in their calendar, foretold the period when the eclipse would take place, and we determined to observe whether they were correct in their reckoning. At that time we were unacquainted with the degree of knowledge they possessed, and suspected that the Japanese calculations would resemble those of the Dutch astronomer, who published in the Almanac of the Cape of Good Hope, that an eclipse would take place on the first night of a new moon. The poor Dutchmen gaped and stared the whole night at the sky, but saw neither the moon nor the eclipse which they expected. A very different cause prevented our observing the eclipse at Japan. The heavens were completely obscured by a fog.

Irkutzk,* the Commandant of Jakutzk,† the Commandant of Okotzk harbour,‡ Mr. Rikord, together with all the Officers of the *Diana*, and various other individuals with whom we were acquainted; but the rest of the Russians he described as being a very worthless set.

On being asked what he knew respecting our Government, he made the following reply:—"The Emperor of Russia is extremely kind and condescending; his subjects regard him as their father, but his officers seek to deceive him; and in order to enrich themselves, carry on trade and provoke warfare with neighbouring states."§ All this, he said, he had learnt from the Japanese, who lived at Irkutzk.

He characterised the Russian nation as being warlike and rapacious. His countrymen, in Irkutzk, had shewn him, on the map, the boundaries of Russia in former times, and assured him that the Government had not purchased a foot of ground, but had acquired their present extent of territory by

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* His Excellency the present Counsellor of State, N. T. Treskin.

† The Court Counsellor, T. G. Kardaschevsky.

‡ Captain M. J. Minitzky, of the Navy.

§ To prove that these observations which Leonsaino made respecting Russia, were singularly erroneous, it is only necessary to reflect on our relations with China. The rash and offensive conduct of the Chinese would a thousand times have justified Russia in punishing them. Yet our Government benevolently forebore to do so, reflecting that these people, like other Asiatic nations, were ignorant of the laws of Europe.

conquest. He had himself made the following observations:—In Russia, should a boy find a stick in the streets, he immediately takes it up and goes through the military exercise. He had, besides, frequently seen numbers of boys assemble together for the purpose of practising military exercises; and the soldiers, wherever he saw them, were constantly under arms. From all the circumstances, he concluded that Russia was meditating a war with the Japanese, for she had no neighbours in that quarter of the world, except China and Japan. With China, she maintained commercial relations, consequently all her preparations must be directed against Japan. At this latter observation, both the Bunyos laughed, and called him a blockhead; adding, that in Japan it was customary for boys to fence with swords, and soldiers to go through their exercise, though no war was in contemplation. Leonsaimo then excused himself by apologising for his want of consideration in drawing such a conclusion.

The Bunyos reproached him for having changed his name without any motive; observing, that had he been a person of distinction, he might have adopted this mode of insuring his safety: but whether a man in his humble condition of life, were called Leonsaimo or Gorodsee, must be a matter of indifference to the Russians. He could urge nothing in his justification, but acknowledged his error, and begged pardon.

On being asked what had struck him as being most remarkable in Irkutzk, he replied, that the market and churches had most engaged his attention. He made a drawing of the market-place, and described it with tolerable precision; but with respect to the churches, he could only say, that they contained many beautiful images, and that every object seemed glittering in gold. Arrao-Madsimano-Kami wished that he should draw a plan of Irkutzk, its streets, and public buildings; but he plainly acknowledged that he had made no observations on the town. "Did not the Russians suffer you to go out?" inquired the Bunyo. "Oh yes," replied he, "they even advised us to walk about for the sake of our health, the Governor himself frequently desired us to do so." "Why then," continued the Bunyo, "did you not avail yourself of this indulgence, and inspect the city with attention, so that on your return home you might have been able to give an account of what you saw?" Leonsaimp again confessed his negligence, and begged that they would pardon him.

He was then asked whether he had ever witnessed a Russian festival? "Yes," replied he, "and one of the greatest that is held. On that day all the soldiers in Irkutzk assembled on the parade and a great firing took place.* The Governor desired me to go out early in the morning to see the cere-

* It was the festival of Epiphany.

monies, and informed me that in the afternoon all the people in the streets would wear their festival dresses. I therefore went out in the morning and saw the soldiers. But I suddenly heard the firing of musketry and cannon, which so terrified me that I hastened back, and did not go out again all day." In return for this confession the Bunyo again called him a blockhead, and reproached him for having let slip the opportunity of observing the ceremonies and dresses of the Russians on such an occasion.

On being asked what he did on his return home, he very coolly replied, "I employed myself in writing down my observations." The Governor and all present burst into a fit of laughter. They inquired what observations he could possibly make since he had seen nothing? "I wrote down," replied he, "all that I had heard from my countrymen." He had, indeed, brought home with him a whole packet of papers filled with observations.

Teske assured us that Leonsaimo's papers contained a great deal concerning Siberia, and the trade with China, by the way of Kiachta, but what he had written on these subjects, Teske either could not or would not inform us. The Bunyos were not, however, inclined to give much credit to the remarks made by Leonsaimo. They told him that had he related what he had either seen himself, or heard from the Russians, his account would have merited attention; but that he had, on the con-

trary, received all his information from Japanese who had forsworn their native country and religion, and on whose assertions the Government could place no reliance.

The Bunyos questioned him at considerable length concerning that part of Siberia through which he had travelled. Leonsaimo represented it as being extremely poor and wretched; he declared that the inhabitants of Okotzk were mere beggars, and that the population of the whole track of country from Irkutzk to Okotzk was not more numerous than that of a small Japanese town. In short, he constantly overstepped the truth, and represented every thing worse than it really was.

In speaking of the trade with China, he accused our countrymen of fraud in their dealings, and acquitted the Chinese of all blame, alleging that the Court of Pekin had frequently threatened to put a stop to the trade, but that the Russians had promised to punish the offenders, though this promise was never fulfilled. Such, he said, was the account given by the Japanese who resided in Irkutzk.

There were farther questions and answers, but Teske said he could recollect only a few of them: perhaps he did not wish to let us know all that had passed. He made, however, the following addition to what he had already related of the account which Leonsaimo gave of his adventures:—Whilst in Okotzk he observed, in a warehouse belonging to

the American Company, a number of Japanese books and charts, which were deposited in a corner. They had been brought from Japan by Chwostoff. The attention of the officers of the Company seemed much more occupied with the rice than with these books and charts. Leonsaimo looked over the books, and found one containing a description of Japan, which he conceived it would be improper to suffer the Russians to possess: he therefore requested permission to read it, and conveyed it to his lodging, where he burned it. He likewise found means secretly to remove the charts, one by one, from the warehouse, and on taking them home consigned them all to the flames. When he arrived at Irkutzk he related this circumstance to a Japanese, with whom he lived, and who had previously become a convert to the Russian church. The latter observed, that he had taken a great deal of useless trouble, as he had himself brought several books and charts from Japan, which he had explained to the Russians. On Leonsaimo's reproaching him for his imprudence, he excused himself by saying, that he had become a Russian, and was no longer a Japanese.

When Leonsaimo attempted to escape along with his companions,* in the expectation of meet-

* Three individuals on this occasion attempted to effect their escape: Leonsaimo, another Japanese, and a Russian outlaw. The other Japanese died, as has already been stated, in consequence of having eaten too great a quantity of whale-flesh; the outlaw robbed Leonsaimo, and then abandoned him. The latter, accordingly, reached the Giliak territory alone.

ing Tongusians, he carried along with him a copper image of a saint, to enable him to pass for a Russian. On entering the territory of the Giliaks, however, he passed himself for a Chinese Ambassador, and showed the people the image, which he said was a likeness of the Chinese Emperor. The Giliaks received him with so much cordiality, that he formed the design of passing the winter among them, and resuming his journey in the spring. However, on arriving at Udskoy-Ostrog his plans were frustrated—he was seized and conveyed to Okotzk.

Teske, besides, frankly told us, that the Japanese, who was sent ashore with the letters from Captain Rikord, actually received orders from the Governor of Kunashier to state that we were dead. The motive for this falsehood was as follows: The Japanese assured his countrymen, that Russia would no doubt declare war against Japan, and that all her friendly representations were mere artifice. Captain Rikord had, however, stated in his letter, that he would not quit the harbour until he received a satisfactory answer; and at the approach of our ships, all the fishermen and labouring people on the southern coast of Kunashier had fled into the garrison, so that all business was suspended. It was, therefore, with a view to put an end to this state of things, and to induce the Russians to land and attempt to storm the garrison, that the assertion of our having been put to death was fabricated. The Sehrabiyagu, Otachi-Koeki, at this time Go-

vernor of Kunashier, was the same officer who had so frequently treated us with so much derison at Chakodade, and his personal hatred of the Russians had probably dictated the answer he sent to Captain Rikord. This answer, Teske told us, excited no displeasure on the part of the Government; on the contrary, several of the Ministers expressed their approbation of the conduct of Otachi-Koeki, which, in their opinion, proved him to be an extremely judicious and able man.

Teske, besides, informed us, that his correspondence with us had involved him in considerable difficulty during his stay in the capital. The letters which were taken from Mr. Moor had been sent to Yeddo. The Government required Teske to translate all the letters he had received from us, and those which he had written to us: but he was prudent enough to give a different interpretation to the passages in which he spoke disrespectfully of his countrymen. The officers of the Government, to whose perusal these translations were submitted, asked him how he dared to correspond with foreigners, when he knew that a law existed by which that kind of intercourse was prohibited. Teske excused himself by saying, that he was not aware that such foreigners as had been made prisoners by the Japanese were included in this law; adding, that he had not corresponded with us for any improper purpose, but merely through motives of compassion. He had never imagined that this

correspondence could be attended by any evil consequences, but he was ready to suffer death, should the Government regard his crime as sufficiently enormous to call for such a punishment. He was, however, merely reprimanded, and admonished to be more prudent in future. The letters remained in the hands of the Government, and the affair had luckily no injurious result for Teske. Both he and Kumaddschero were afterwards promoted for their labours in translating, and the zeal they had manifested in acquiring the Russian language. Teske was appointed to fill the office of *Shtoyagu*; and Kumaddschero that of *Saydshu*, or secretary.

It is with the utmost pain that I again call the attention of the reader to a circumstance, which, in the midst of our sufferings, harassed my feelings, and the recollection of which is, even now, attended by the most distressing sensations—I allude to the conduct of Mr. Moor. If I unfold his errors, it is not that I wish to dwell on the description of the horrors into which he plunged me and my unfortunate companions. No! may his example prove a warning to all young men whom Fate may hereafter overwhelm with misfortunes such as we were doomed to endure. May it serve to convince them, that no wretch is visited by remorse so insufferable as he who renounces his faith and his country. If, like the unhappy Moor, whose history is as instructive as memorable, he has previously been a man of rectitude and extreme sensibility,

how dreadful must be his torments when he returns to the paths of virtue, and looks back upon his past conduct. I entreat the reader not to condemn this unfortunate officer:—If he accompanies me to the end of my Narrative, his indignation will be converted into pity, and he will, perhaps, shed a tear over the sad memory of this poor miserable youth.

After Mr. Moor was quartered along with us, he often discoursed with the guards like a person bereft of reason. For instance; he assured them that he heard the officers of their Government calling to him from the roof of the house, and reproaching him with having drunk the blood of the Japanese and eat their rice; that the interpreters, moreover, called to him from the streets, and came during the night secretly to consult with me and Mr. Chlebnikoff on the best means of getting rid of him.

"He was, however, at certain intervals, perfectly collected, and then what he said always indicated that he had a particular object in view. On one occasion, he told Teske, that he had many fine books, charts, pictures, and other objects of curiosity on board the *Diana*, and that if the Japanese would grant him permission to go first on board, he would send valuable presents to the officers and interpreters. Teske replied, that the Japanese were not desirous of receiving presents, as in fact they stood in need of none, and that all they wanted

was, that our Government should send them a satisfactory explanation respecting the proceedings of the Company's ships.

Another time Mr. Moor, in the presence of the interpreters and the academician, said, that his devotion to the Japanese would only tend to ruin him, since they had refused to take him into their service, and he dared not return to Russia. "How so?" inquired the interpreters. "Because," replied he, "I have offered to enter the Japanese service; nay, even to become a servant of the Governor:* this is known to my companions, and must, of course, become known to the Russian Government; therefore, were I to return home, I should be condemned to the gallies." The interpreters, and Teske in particular, endeavoured to set his mind at ease. They told him, that his wish to enter the Japanese service was sufficiently excused by his situation. Teske added, that he had never mentioned to us Mr. Moor's proposal of entering the service of the Governor, which he had now himself disclosed, but that he trusted we would communicate nothing to the Russian Government which might tend to injure him.

We, on our part, assured him, that he had no reason to fear returning to Russia; our Government would not judge of his offence, if ever it came to

* This circumstance was not known to us before.

their knowledge, with the severity which he anticipated. But Mr. Moor was far from being satisfied. Some secrets, of which he had made a written disclosure to the Japanese, weighed upon his mind. This was what he alluded to when he spoke of his devotion to the Japanese. He endeavoured, by various means, to prove his attachment to Japan, and said, that if the Japanese could see what was passing within his heart, they would place greater confidence in him.

At length the interpreters informed him that even a Japanese, who should live for any length of time in a foreign country, would forfeit the confidence of his countrymen; how then, said they, can we venture to take a foreigner into our service, whatever degree of attachment he may profess towards our nation? They further observed, that though a thousand Russians had been made prisoners by the Japanese, their fate would depend on two alternatives. If our declarations were confirmed by the Russian Government we should all be liberated; even such amongst us who might be unwilling to return, would be forcibly carried on board our ships: but in case the expected confirmation should not be received, we must remain in confinement without being permitted to enter into the Japanese service, or even to follow any kind of employment. The interpreters added, that if Mr. Moor had reason to dread the consequences of returning to Russia, the Japanese must sympathise in

his fate, but that their laws could not be violated in his favour.

On our informing the interpreters that the apprehensions expressed by Mr. Moor were totally unfounded, they represented to him that his fears arose merely out of the disordered state of his mind. But Mr. Moor declared himself to be perfectly collected, and observed, that the laws of Japan were severe and barbarous. The interpreters replied that he might, indeed, think them so, but that the Japanese considered them extremely lenient and good.

On this occasion they explained to us the grounds on which their laws prohibit them from reposing any trust in Japanese subjects who have lived in foreign countries. The great mass of mankind, said they, resemble children; they soon become weary of what they possess, and willingly give up every thing for the sake of novelty. When they hear of certain things being better in foreign countries than in their own, they immediately wish to possess them, without reflecting that they might, perhaps, prove useless, or even injurious to them.

With regard to Mr. Moor's conduct, he still continued either to discourse like a madman, or remained totally silent. He once told me, in a determined tone, that he saw only two courses which he could take: we must either request that he and Alexei might first be permitted to go on

board the Russian vessels, when he would take measures to ensure our safety ;* if not, our refusal would compel him to adopt the only remaining alternative; which might, perhaps, prove fatal to us all, namely, he would inform the Japanese that the object of our voyage was to inspect their coasts, and that there was even a probability of the Russians declaring war against them. I replied, that we were not to be intimidated by threats of this kind. We knew, from experience, the disposition of the Japanese ; they would, of course, come to no speedy decision on his representation ; and that, in the meanwhile, communications might take place, and all would, probably, terminate favourably to us. The sailors, with tears, entreated that he would not act so dishonourably, assuring him, that on their return to Russia, they would never divulge a syllable which might operate to his disadvantage. "I know well," replied he, "what I have to expect ; I recollect that when we were in the presence of the Bunyo, Schkajeff, in a threatening tone, inquired whether I entertained thoughts of returning to Russia?" The words which Schkajeff uttered on that occasion had apparently made a deep impression on his mind ; he frequently alluded to them.

On my asking him what would be his feel-

* We were not inclined to give credit to this assurance. The reason may be easily guessed.

ings, were he to succeed in convincing the Japanese of the truth of his assertions, and should thereby induce them to entrap our countrymen, he made me various incoherent answers. Even allowing, continued I, that the Japanese should capture our vessels, the truth may sooner or later come to light, and we be sent back to Russia, what then would become of you? I should then only undergo the same punishment as I must were I to return now, replied he. I endeavoured to console him, and observed, that he was not responsible for his conduct, as he was evidently labouring under derangement.

When I asked him what rendered him so impatient to go first on board the Russian vessels, he constantly varied in his answers. Sometimes, he said, he wished to be the instrument of reconciliation between two nations, and thus to expiate his faults; then he expressed a wish to warn our countrymen of the snares which the Japanese had laid for them, or to persuade them to send from the ships some cannon and other things as pledges for the restoration of the articles of which Chwostoff had robbed the Japanese.* These singular

* We afterwards learned, from Alexei, the real cause which had induced Mr. Moor so obstinately to insist on our soliciting the Japanese to send him and Alexei first on board the Russian ships. One of the guards had informed him, probably in jest, that the Bunyo really entertained the design of sending him first on board, but that our entreaties had prevented this intention from being carried into effect. This was, however, untrue.

answers sufficiently proved that he was occasionally under the influence of derangement.

Though Mr. Moor found that his menaces made no impression on us, he did not, on that account, cease to harass us. He sometimes told the interpreters what threats he had held out to us. They, however, paid no regard to this discourse, which was directly aimed at our ruin. They called him a madman, and instead of making replies consistent with his applications, referred to a physician. After some time it was, indeed, found necessary to place him under the care of a physician; but no investigation was ever instituted in order to ascertain whether he had been in his right senses at the time he uttered these expressions. This circumstance led Mr. Chlebnikoff to believe that the Japanese were practising some artifice; that they pretended to believe Mr. Moor insane, in order to throw us off our guard, and to deceive the sailors, who were to be sent as messengers to our countrymen; but that their real design was to capture the Russian ships by some stratagem, after which they would, probably, inquire whether or not Mr. Moor had spoken truth. This suspicion, groundless as it appeared, induced me to write five notes, addressed to Captain Nikord, which the sailors and Alexei stitched within the lining of their jackets; for, as it was not known which might be sent off, it was necessary that each should have one in his possession. These notes I directed

to be delivered to the commander, whoever he might be, of the Russian ships, on board of which any of our sailors might be put by the Japanese. The distrust which Mr. Chlebnikoff entertained of the sincerity of the Japanese was certainly pushed to the extreme of improbability; still, however, it was proper to warn our countrymen, lest, by any imprudent confidence, they might have been plunged into a state of wretchedness similar to our own.

The five notes I wrote were all to the same purport, and contained an exhortation, to Captain Rikord, or the Russian commanding officer, to observe the utmost caution in his communications with the Japanese, and not to suffer his boats to approach within gun-shot of the garrison. I, however, requested him not to take offence at the tardy proceedings of the Japanese, as their laws prohibited them from doing any thing with precipitancy, and obliged them to submit every affair of importance to the consideration of their Government. I, moreover, stated all that Mr. Moor had disclosed to the Japanese, in order that he might be prepared to answer all the questions that would, probably, be put to him in the course of his examination. In conclusion, I observed that there was every reason to hope for reconciliation with the Japanese; and that, in course of time, commercial relations might probably be established between them and Russia.

Finding that all his plans proved unsuccessful, Mr. Moor seemed lost in despair. On two or three occasions he attempted to put a period to his existence; but his designs were discovered by the guards, in time to prevent their execution. It sometimes struck me that these attempts were mere artifice; for had he really intended to commit suicide, he might easily have found an opportunity to carry his horrible design into execution without being observed. But whatever might be the fact, the Japanese began to watch him with the utmost strictness; even whilst he was asleep, one always sat near him, to listen whether he continued to breathe; and if, for a moment, his respiration was not heard, the sentinel would strip down the quilt of his bed to ascertain that he was still living. They likewise watched me with much attention. This caution may be readily accounted for; had any of our party committed suicide, not merely the guards who were near us, but likewise our surviving companions, and the soldiers stationed on the outside of the house, who had no communication with us, would have been answerable for it. Such is the singular severity of the Japanese laws!

The precautions which the Japanese had adopted, having deprived Mr. Moor of all opportunity of putting an end to his existence, he made every possible endeavour to prevent any negociation between the Russians and the Japanese. He advised the latter to demand, on the arrival of our ships,

that their cannon, and arms of every kind, should be sent ashore as pledges, to remain in the hands of the Japanese until the property, which Chwostoff had robbed them of, was restored. They replied, however, that if the Japanese Emperor should be convinced that the Russian Government had no connection with the proceedings of the Company's ships, he would regard the robbery as an act of private aggression; and in that case, how could a great monarch require that another should indemnify his subjects for losses which they may have sustained by robbery?—They besides, added, that their Emperor had long since compensated the individuals, whose property was carried off by Chwostoff, for the loss they sustained.

Mr. Moor now appeared to be driven to the last extremity. He frequently refused to taste food for several days together, and all our endeavours to encourage and console him proved unavailing. For my own part, I now augured no good from all that was passing. The indifference with which the interpreters listened to the declarations of Mr. Moor was to me unaccountable. It in no way corresponded with the curiosity natural to the Japanese, who were accustomed to make the most minute and circumstantial inquiries respecting the merest trifles. I considered the matter in every point of view, without being able to come to any fixed opinion on the subject. Did the Japanese regard Mr. Moor as a madman, on whose declarations no reliance could be placed? Did the interpreters,

after the supposed termination of the inquiry into our case, and after having been rewarded for their conduct, apprehend disagreeable consequences to themselves, if difficulties were now created by the disclosure of new and important circumstances? Or were Mr. Moor's words only apparently disregarded, in order that some more of our countrymen might be inveigled into a snare?

Though we could not believe Teske capable of so treacherously deceiving us, yet we recollected that he might, perhaps, be only doing what he considered his duty, in fulfilling the orders of his Government, which, according to the representations of the Japanese themselves, was capable of almost any atrocity. In this state of doubt and perplexity we were doomed to await the unravelling of the mystery."

On the 10th of May, the note which we had written, to be dispatched to the different harbours, and sent on board our vessels, was returned from the capital. The Government had approved of its contents, and, consequently, not a single letter could be altered. Having made five copies, and affixed our signatures to each, they were dispatched on the same day to their several destinations. These notes were to the following effect:—

"We are all, both officers and seamen, and "the Kurile Alexei, alive, and reside in Matsmai.

"WASSILY GOLOWNIN.
"FEODOR MOOR."

"*May 10th*, 1813."

Mr. Chlebnikoff was unable to sign the notes on account of severe illness.

"The season had now returned when we daily expected to hear of the arrival of the Russian vessels. From Captain Rikord's letter, I concluded that he would sail straight to Matsmai. Every violent gale of wind made me tremble for the safety of our ships, on account of the fogs, which, in this quarter of the world, constantly accompany the east wind. Violent storms, accompanied by fogs and rain, frequently arise in these ports during the months of May, June and July, which are precisely the periods when the weather is fair and the wind moderate in the northern hemisphere. Even when at sea, I never watched the state of the weather with more exactness than I did at this time. I marked down every variation however slight. The following memoranda may enable the reader to form some notion of a Japanese summer :—

During the whole of the 30th and 31st of May, and 1st of June, a violent east wind blew without intermission, accompanied by fogs and rain.

On the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th of June, the same kind of weather prevailed, and for several succeeding days it likewise continued exceedingly stormy; the wind invariably blowing from the east.

In the expectation that we would be sent on board the Russian ships, the Japanese supplied us with materials for new suits of clothes, that we might make a decent appearance in the presence

of our countrymen. Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff, and I, were provided with fine silken stuffs for our clothes and the lining; the sailors had the cotton cloth called *momba*, of which I have before spoken, delivered to them. The Japanese made for Alexei a dress after their own fashion.

At length, on the 19th of June, we were informed that a Japanese vessel, lying at anchor off a promontory in the Island of Kunashier, had observed a Russian three-masted ship sail round the Cape, and enter Kunashier harbour. The Japanese vessel immediately weighed anchor, and brought information of this event to Chakodade. On the 20th of June the arrival of the *Diana* in Kunashier was officially confirmed; but nothing more was said on the subject.

On the following day the interpreters, by order of their superiors, asked me which of the sailors I wished to send on board? That I might avoid shewing any preference to one more than another, I determined that chance should decide the matter; and the lot happened to fall to Simanoff. I requested that the Governor would permit Alexei to accompany him. This he consented to, and they received orders to prepare for their departure. On the same day Mr. Moor and I were conducted to the castle, where the two Ginmiyagus, in the presence of other officers, formally inquired whether we were perfectly satisfied that Alexei and Simanoff should be sent on board the *Diana*? I replied in

the affirmative; but Mr. Moor remained silent. Sampey then informed us, that he himself intended to depart for Kunashier, for the purpose of treating with Captain Rikord; who, at the same time, promised to bring the affair to a conclusion, and assured us, that Alexei and Simanoff should experience every accommodation during their voyage. We were then dismissed.

Mr. Moor and I were again conducted to the castle on the 22nd of June, when the papers, which had been sent ashore by Captain Rikord, were presented to us. They consisted of two letters, the one addressed to the commander of Kunashier, and the other to me. In the former, he acquainted the Japanese of his arrival and friendly intentions, together with the return of their countryman, Tachaty-Kachi, and two sailors whom he had carried off in the preceding year. Two Japanese and a Kurile had died in Kamtschatka, though every endeavour had been made to save their lives.* He,

* A few months previous to the arrival of Captain Rikord, the relations of Tachaty-Kachi, who were much concerned for his fate, inquired of a priest in Chakodade whether Kachi would ever return to his native country? This priest pretended to possess the gift of foretelling future events. He accordingly pronounced the following prophecy: "Kachi will return in the ensuing summer with two of his companions, the remaining two have perished in a foreign land."—The Japanese informed us of this prediction; but we laughed, and told them that, in Europe, such a prophet would be punished for an impostor, and he doubtless was one. The Japanese, however, thought otherwise, and assured us that many of the for-

besides, described Tachaty-Kachi as an intelligent and good principled man, who would, of course, convince the Japanese of the peaceable disposition of Russia, and would prevail on them to liberate us; but intimated, that, if they did not set us at liberty, they might apprehend serious consequences. He concluded by saying that he trusted to the pacific character and generosity of the Japanese, and waited for an answer to this letter.

Mr. Rikord, in his letter to me, requested that I would return an answer, to acquaint him with the state of our health, and also what was our situation in other respects. It was, therefore, evident that Mr. Rikord had written the letter before he received the papers which had been dispatched to him. This circumstance surprised us not a little, for the Japanese had informed us that the orders issued by the Government required that these papers should be conveyed, by Kuriles, on board the first Russian ship which might appear on the coast. We were directed to take copies of both letters in presence of the officers, and in the evening we made translations of them. On the following day

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mer prophecies of this priest had been fulfilled. Captain Rikord's subsequent arrival of course inspired them with fresh confidence in the prophetic powers of their priest, and they triumphantly inquired whether we were not convinced that he possessed the gift of penetrating into futurity? They expressed no little astonishment when we declared all his successful predictions to be the effect of mere chance.

the originals, together with the translations, were sent off to the capital.

On the 24th of June, Sampey, Kumaddschero, Simanoff and Alexei sailed for Kunashier. I took every opportunity of instructing Simanoff what to communicate to the officers of the *Diana* respecting the fortifications, military power, and tactics of the Japanese, and what would be the most advantageous mode of attacking them in case such a proceeding should be found necessary. He seemed perfectly to understand my directions and to be prepared to furnish his countrymen with much important information.* Previously to his departure, Simanoff informed me that Mr. Moor had directed him to request Captain Rikord to send ashore the property which he had left on board the *Diana* at the time he was made prisoner. I knew not what could be his object in making this application. I, however, ordered Simanoff to deliver the message to Captain Rikord, and, at the same time, to request that he would not send the property on shore, as, in doing so, he might involve us in fresh difficulties. Mr. Chlebnikoff sent a note by Simanoff in which he warned Captain Rikord not to place too much confidence in the Japanese.

* I afterwards found I had formed an erroneous opinion of Simanoff; for, before he reached the *Diana*, he had forgotten nearly the whole of what I had stated, and could repeat only a few unconnected fragments of my instructions.

We heard no accounts from Kunashier until the 2nd of June, when a short letter was brought to us, addressed by Mr. Rikord to the Governor of that island. It merely contained his thanks for the receipt of the note we had written, which, he observed, fully satisfied him with respect to our safety. We were required to translate this letter, and both original and translation were immediately dispatched to Yeddo.

On the 19th of July, Mr. Moor and I were carried before the Bunyo, and shewn an official letter from Captain Rikord to Takahassy-Sampey, together with a letter to me and one to Mr. Moor. In the first letter Captain Rikord thanked the Japanese Government for their wish to correspond with the Russians, and promised immediately to sail back to Okotzk and to return in September provided with the Declaration required by the Japanese Government. As he was unacquainted with the entrance of the harbour of Chakodade, he wished to put into Endermo,* which had been visited by Captain Broughton, and requested that a skilful pilot might be sent thither to conduct the ship to Chakodade. Finally, he thanked Sampey for having permitted Simanoff to go on board the *Diana*. His letter to me commenced with the words which we had agreed should be the token of his having received my note; he congratulated us

* Edomo is the name which the Japanese give to this harbour.

on our approaching liberation, and promised to return without fail in September. He advised Mr. Moor to be patient, and not to give way to despair, observing that his countrymen, at home, had had no small share of distress, difficulty and danger to contend with.

The Bunyo withdrew after having heard an explanation of these papers. We then took copies and prepared translations, which were immediately sent to Yeddo.

The Japanese informed us that the *Diana* left Kunashier immediately after these papers were sent ashore. According to our calculation this must have been on the 10th of July. A few days afterwards, Sampey, Kumaddschero, and our two companions, returned to Matsmai. The reader may perhaps conjecture what were our feelings on again beholding them. It seemed as if missionaries, sent out by the dead, had returned from the land of the living! For two whole years we had heard no accounts from Russia or any other part of the world We were even ignorant of the events which were passing in Japan. Our curiosity, therefore, on the return of our companions, was unbounded. We hoped to be circumstantially informed of all that had taken place in Russia and other parts of Europe—but in this we were sadly disappointed. Simanoff was one of those men to whom the term *blockhead* may be applied in its fullest acceptation. Turks and French

were all one to him. He had never troubled himself with politics during the whole course of his life. All the information we could obtain from him was, that the French, together with the troops of three other nations, the names of which he did not know, had entered Russia; that they had been defeated in an engagement which took place about sixty wersts from Smolensko, where several thousands of their troops were killed; that the remainder, under Bonaparte, had made a precipitate retreat.* But how all this had taken place, who commanded the armies, and what was the actual state of the operations, he had totally forgotten. We, however, consoled ourselves with the reflection that Simanoff was not given to romancing, and that none of his news, as far as he was concerned, could be liable to the suspicion of fabrication. He had been told, on board the *Diana*, that his friend *Fomka Mitrofanoff* was married, that *Seniuschka Chlebalkin* was dead, and a variety of other events of similar importance, and he gave as detailed a description of the wedding and funeral as if he had been present. His companions listened with the deepest interest to these accounts which did not go beyond the narrow circle of their ideas.

It is of course unnecessary to detain the

* When the *Diana* left Kamtschatka the particulars of the battle of Smolensko were not known there.

reader by a repetition of what Simanoff stated respecting the conferences between the Japanese and our countrymen. As Captain Rikord's Narrative, which is subjoined to this volume, contains a full and accurate account of all that occurred in the negociations, I shall therefore merely mention what the Japanese themselves, disclosed on the subject. Kumaddschero, who had been present with Sampei during the negociations, gave us reason to hope for the most favourable result; the prospect of which he ascribed entirely to the ability and prudent conduct of Captain Rikord, who had so won the good will of Tachatai-Kachi, and impressed him with so high an idea of the honour and rectitude of the Russians, that this Japanese declared himself willing to make oath, in the presence of the highest authorities, to his belief in all our statements: Kachi, even accused Gorodsee, the Japanese who had returned from Russia, of falsehood; called him a dishonourable wretch! and protested that he would rather forfeit his life than recognise the opinion which the Japanese Government had hitherto entertained of the Russians as well founded. These words had such an influence over Sampey that he refrained from urging certain conditions which he, at first, intended to insist on in his negociation with Captain Rikord. Among others he departed from his original proposition for a complete restoration of all the Japanese arms that Chwostoff

had carried off, which he reduced to a demand for such only as could be collected in Okotzk; and in case none could be recovered, he observed that the Japanese would be satisfied with the assurance, that the attack was not authorised by the Russian Government. Tachatai-Kachi knew not how to bestow sufficient commendation on Captain Rikord, the officers of the *Diana*, and all the individuals he had known in Kamtschatka.

He arrived at Matsmai in company with Sampei; but he was not permitted to pay us a visit, notwithstanding the infinite gratification which it would have afforded both to him and ourselves. The Japanese laws required that he should have a guard set over him. His relations and friends were, indeed, allowed to see him, and to remain with him as long as they pleased, but an imperial soldier was present the whole time of their visit.

Though Simanoff could give us so little information concerning the political situation of Europe, it furnished a subject for the endless chattering of the Japanese. They informed us that two large Dutch ships, laden with East India goods, had arrived at Nangasaky, from Batavia.* The Dutch

* The Japanese gave us a minute description of these vessels, in which their length, breadth, depth, burthen in tons, the number of the crew on board each, and to what nation each individual belonged; in short, every particular was accurately stated. One

assured the Japanese, that in consequence of a maritime war between England and Holland, they had been unable to bring with them any European goods; but as the Dutch and English East India Companies had, at that time, concluded peace, and traded with each other, they were under the necessity of conveying Bengal goods to Japan. The Japanese now asked me whether this statement could, consistently with the practice of European warfare, be true. I frankly told them that there was some deception at the bottom of the statement. The fact, we told them was, that the English had taken Batavia, and that the Dutch, it appeared, had fabricated this story, as they were apprehensive that the Japanese would not trade with them if they knew that their chief possession was in the hands of foreigners. I proposed that the Japanese should inform the Dutch who had arrived at Nangasaky, that they had learned in their negociations with the Russians, that Batavia was taken by the Eng-

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of these vessels must have been very large, since it was upwards of one hundred and thirty feet in length, and had more than one hundred men on board. An elephant, which the Dutch had brought from the Island of Sumatra as a present for the Japanese Emperor, was described with the greatest minuteness imaginable. No circumstance was omitted, the place of his nativity, his age, length, height, thickness, the food he was accustomed to consume, and how many times in course of the day, and in what portions he was supplied with the different articles, were all carefully noted. A native of Sumatra, who was the keeper of the elephant was described with corresponding precision.

lish, and to demand some explanation from them.* The Japanese themselves concurred in opinion with me; at their request I drew up my advice in writing, and it was dispatched to Yeddo. What I stated in this instance was the more readily attended to, as I had, on a former occasion, communicated an important fact respecting Holland, which I afterwards had the opportunity of proving. It was as follows:—The Dutchmen who lived in Nangasaky had declared to the Japanese that their Republican Government had been converted into a kingdom, and that a brother of the French Emperor had become their King. They did not, however, state that Holland had ceased to be an independent state, and had become a province of France; but of this circumstance they were probably ignorant, as no Dutch vessel had entered Nangasaky for several years. We frequently spoke to the interpreters on this subject; but they listened to us with indifference, and would not conceive it possible that Napoleon should so soon deprive his brother of the kingdom he had given him. Nothing appeared to

* Two months after this we learned from the interpreter that the Dutch had confessed their imposition, and acknowledged that Batavia had been taken by the English, and that the Japanese ordinance by which the Dutch ships were permitted annually to enter the harbour of Nangasaky, had fallen into their hands. They added, that on this occasion, they were compelled to bring English goods to Japan. After this explanation the Japanese laid both the vessels and goods under embargo until further arrangements should be made.

the Japanese more improbable than this sudden manner in which kings and kingdoms were represented to be created and overthrown in Europe. At length, Mr. Moor looking over some Russian Gazettes which had been sent ashore along with the books from the *Diana*, accidentally found Napoleon's manifesto, in which Amsterdam was raised to the rank of third city of the French empire. Mr. Moor immediately shewed this manifesto to the interpreters, who could, by this time, read Russian with tolerable facility, and they zealously commenced making a translation of it, which, when completed, was sent off to Yeddo. When the Dutch, residing in Nangasaky, were questioned respecting this event, they replied, that they were totally ignorant of it; a circumstance which was by no means improbable.

I must here observe, that the Japanese do not entertain so favourable an opinion of the Dutch as they formerly did. The Dutch interpreter told us that, during the last five years, no vessel belonging to Holland had entered Nangasaky, and that the Dutch, who lived there, had been exposed to the greatest privations, and even reduced to the necessity of selling the glass panes of their windows, in order to obtain the means of supporting their existence. On our inquiring why the Japanese Government did not provide for their maintenance, as their expenses would afterwards be repaid, the interpreter replied, that the Japanese did not now

think so well of the Dutch as they once had done, and that, as Holland had now become a French province, they would certainly break off all intercourse with them.*

The most important intelligence which the Dutch ships arrived at Nangasaky had brought, was an account of the taking of Moscow. We were told that the Russians, in a fit of despair, had abandoned and burnt their capital, and that the whole of Russia, as far as Moscow, was under the dominion of the French. We laughed at this story, and assured the Japanese that it could not possibly be true. We expressed our doubts on this subject, from real conviction, and not from any feeling of arrogance. We, indeed, believed it possible that the enemy might have concluded a peace on terms advantageous to himself, but as to the loss of Moscow, we looked upon that statement as an invention of the Dutch, and it never cost us a moment's uneasiness.

On the 21st of August, Kumaddschero secretly informed us that in about five or six days, we should be removed to a house which was preparing for our reception. This turned out to be true. On the 26th, we were conducted to the castle, where we found all the officers of the city in the great

* Since the old order of things is re-established in Europe, and Holland is again restored to its former state, the Japanese will doubtless consent to carry on trade with the Dutch under the old restrictions.

saloon, in which Arrao-Madsimano-Kami used formerly to receive us. The academician and the Dutch interpreter* were likewise there, seated near the officers, but on seats somewhat lower. The Governor entered soon after our arrival. Having taken his seat, he drew a paper from his bosom, and with the assistance of the interpreter, intimated that it was an order relative to us, which had been transmitted to him from the capital. He read it, and desired the interpreter to translate it to us. It was to the following purport :—That if the Russian vessel, according to the promise of Captain Rikord, should return that year to Chakodade, with the explanation required by the Japanese, and if the Governor should look upon that explanation as satisfactory, the Government authorised him to liberate us without de ay. The Governor informed us that, in conformity with these orders, we must, in the course of a few days, depart for Chakodade, whither he was likewise about to proceed, and that he would see us on his arrival there. He then took his leave, wishing us health and a safe journey.

When he had departed, we also quitted the

* After their arrival at Matsmai, these two men were always present during our interviews with the officers, and whilst we were writing down our translations. We once asked Teske the reason of this, and he told us that the Governor wished that they should be witnesses to his conduct, lest some one might make a false representation of it to the Government, as Mamia-Rinso, had done with regard to the first Bunyo. Thus in Japan, as well as elsewhere, it is necessary to guard against false accusations.

saloon, but previously to his retiring, we expressed our thanks for the kindness he had shewn to us.

Mr. Moor declared he was unworthy of the favours which the Japanese had conferred upon him; but to what particular acts of favour he alluded, or what he meant by this statement, we were unable to guess.

CHAPTER V.

From the castle we were conducted to the house which we had formerly inhabited. It had, however, undergone a great change during our absence, and was now much improved. The palisades, behind which armed soldiers were constantly stationed, gave it formerly the appearance of a prison; but these were now removed, and our guards had neither muskets, nor bows and arrows. A very neat apartment was assigned to me, a separate one to Mr. Moor and Mr. Chlebnikoff, and a third to the sailors, and Alexei. Our food was likewise superior in quality to that which we had before been accustomed to. It was served up to us in beautiful lackered vessels, by well dressed attendants, who treated us with every mark of respect.

We had no sooner arrived at our new residence, than several officers, with their children, came to offer us their congratulations, and to bid us farewell. Some of these men presented us with farewell cards in the Russian language, into which the interpreters had translated them: they merely contained an adieu, and a wish that we might have a safe voyage. Last of all came the head of the Merchants' Company, or Chief Magistrate of the City, with his two assistants, and presented us with

a box of comfits. In the countenances of all the Japanese by whom we were visited, we could read an unfeigned expression of joy for our good fortune, and their kind behaviour frequently caused us to shed tears. Mr. Chlebnikoff proposed that we should address a letter of thanks to the Governor, which I readily agreed to, and begged that he would himself be the writer of it. The letter was accordingly written, translated into Japanese, and forwarded to the Governor, who, as our interpreters informed us, received it with the strongest emotions of sensibility.

The Japanese now began to treat us like guests rather than prisoners. When our sailors sometimes shewed an inclination to drink more spirits than was consistent with temperance, their attendants were directed not to serve it out to them without my consent, and only in such quantities as I should think fit to order. They were thus taught again to look upon me as their commander, which the Japanese never before required them to do.

As we were now convinced that the Japanese entertained the design of setting us at liberty, we wished to testify our gratitude to them as far as lay in our power, Mr. Chlebnikoff presented and explained to the academician the tables which he had prepared. I translated from the work of M. Libes, every thing relative to the latest discoveries in astronomy, and gave him the extracts, together with my own observations upon them. We wished to make

presents of all our books and other property, to those Japanese who had been most about us, and had manifested the greatest interest in our fate. They, however, said they could not accept them without the permission of their Government, for which they promised to apply.

After the Bunyo had declared that it was the intention of the Japanese Government to grant us our liberty, we remained in Matsmai only three days, during which time we were liberally supplied with breakfast and dinner from the Governor's kitchen, and the interpreters received orders to give us entertainments.

We departed on the morning of the 10th of August, and were conducted through the city with great ceremony. The people, who had assembled in vast multitudes in the streets, all pressed forward to bid us farewell. Notwithstanding that Mr. Chlebnikoff complained of such pain in his feet, that he could with difficulty stand upright, yet the Japanese required him to proceed on foot through the streets; but when we got out of the city, they left it to our own choice either to walk or ride, as we pleased. Our escort consisted of an officer of the rank denominated *Shtoyagu*, our interpreter, Teske and his brother, eight common soldiers, our servants, together with a number of litter-bearers, grooms for the horses, &c. who were occasionally relieved. The officer, who was a man of very agreeable manners, treated us with great attention. Whenever

we stopped to rest, he seated himself beside us, gave us part of his own tobacco, and shewed us many acts of kindness.

On arriving at the place where we passed the night, I observed to Teske that our departure from Matsmai had taken place on a day which is celebrated with great pomp in Russia; namely, the anniversary of the Saint whose name our Emperor bears. The Japanese, without any request on our part, immediately filled out some of their best sagi, and we drank several glasses to the health of his Imperial Majesty. Our friends the Japanese followed our example, and repeated the words: *Long live the Emperor Alexander!* the meaning of which Teske explained to them.

In returning to Chakodade we took the same road by which we had travelled from that city to Matsmai, and we always halted in the same villages; but we now, enjoyed greater freedom, and our food was of a superior quality. The Japanese, however, kept a strict watch over Mr. Moor. They were apprehensive that distress of mind might tempt him to commit suicide, for, as we passed through the city, his countenance was bathed in tears, and he was observed to weep on several occasions during our journey. When the Japanese inquired the cause of his affliction when all were happy around him, he replied that he was unworthy of the kindness which they had

shewn him, and that his tears were occasioned by remorse. To us, however, he declared that his uneasiness arose from the deceit and treachery of the Japanese; who, he assured us, were bent on our destruction. But all this was mere artifice! Though Mr. Moor's assertions were ludicrous in the extreme, yet the poor sailors placed implicit faith in them, and they manifested no slight degree of apprehension. The singular conduct of Mr. Moor was, and still remains, an enigma of which I can give no explanation.

On the 2d of September we entered Chakodade, amidst a vast throng of spectators. The residence assigned to us was an imperial building, in the vicinity of the garrison. Our apartment was separated by a gallery from a little garden. To the palisades of the gallery wooden shutters were fastened, which were close at the bottom, but open about three feet distant from the top of the gallery. The light therefore penetrated but faintly through these apertures, and no external objects were visible. In these respects our house bore some resemblance to a prison, though it was extremely clean and very neatly furnished. In the course of a few days, however, these shutters were at our request removed; and, besides enjoying light, we had an unobstructed view of the garden. In addition to our usual repasts, we were now treated with desserts, consisting of apples,

pears and sweetmeats; and, according to the Japanese custom, these desserts were always served up one hour before dinner.

A short time after our arrival in Chakodade, we were visited by the governor of the city, the Ginmiyaku, Coob-Simoto-Chiogoro. He inquired after our health, and observed that the house was much too small for our accommodation, but as a vast number of officers were at that time in the city, and as the Bunyo was likewise expected, all the best houses had been engaged for them. He added, that the Russian vessel would, in all probability, arrive, and we should be sent back to our native country; but that if, contrary to all expectation, it did not come to Chakodade, another house would be provided for our winter residence.

In the course of a few days, the Ginmiyaku, Sampey, the academician, the Dutch interpreter, and Kumaddschero, arrived at Chakodade by sea. The interpreter and the academician immediately paid us a visit; they afterwards spent the whole of their time in our society, remaining with us from morning till night, and they even gave orders that their meals should be sent to our house. They spared no pains to obtain all the information they could collect from us before the *Diana* should arrive. The Dutch interpreter transcribed several sheets of Tatischtschew's French and Russian Dictionary, and he adopted the plan

of translating the Russian significations of the French words into Japanese. He thus made himself acquainted with the peculiar meaning of each word better than he could have done by any other method. To us, however, this occupation proved extremely tedious and troublesome. I shall merely state one example, by which the reader may form some notion of the difficulties we had to encounter.

Among the Russian words which the Japanese had set down in the lexicon made at Matsmai was DOSTOINY *(worthy)*, which we had translated to them by *meritorious*, *respectable*, &c. We never entered into critical illustrations of words, knowing that it would be no easy task to make our pupils comprehend them. When the Japanese came to the word *digne*, which, in the French Russian dictionary, was unluckily exemplified by the phrase, "worthy of the gallows," they immediately concluded that the "gallows" must be some high office or distinguished reward. Notwithstanding all the pains we took to elucidate the meaning of the word *gallows*, the Japanese could not easily extricate themselves from the confusion of ideas in which they were involved by the different definitions.—"A meritorious, respectable man, worthy of the gallows!" was an association which they had formed in their minds, and which they repeated with amazement. We employed all our knowledge of the Japanese language and sum-

moned all our pantomimic powers to facilitate our explanations to the interpreters; and we were obliged to quote a number of examples in which the word *worthy* corresponded in signification with the several translations given of it, and was made to apply to very different objects. When occurrences of this kind took place (and they were by no means unfrequent), the Japanese would hang their heads on one side* and exclaim: *Musgassi kodoba! khanakhanda musgassi kodoba!* (a difficult language! an extremely difficult language!)

The Dutch interpreter also undertook to translate, into Japanese, a small Russian book, on the subject of vaccine inoculation. The volume was brought to Japan by Leonsaimo, who had received it as a present from a Russian physician.† On the other hand, the academician laboured to collect all possible information from the Physics of Libes.

But the office which Teske performed was to us the most interesting and important of any. He told us, by order of the Bunyo, that his Government entertained doubts of Laxman and Resanoff having fully understood the explanations which had been given in answer to their inquiries; for the embassy of Resanoff appeared to be altogether inconsistent with the intimation made to Laxman by the Japanese Government, that a Russian ship would be admitted

* A movement which corresponds with the European shrug of the shoulders.

† The translation was completed before our departure.

into Nangasaky, to treat respecting commercial relations. Resanoff had himself, on various occasions, manifested ill humour, or rather hatred, towards the Japanese, and they therefore suspected that he had not received a correct translation of the papers, and, consequently, could not be acquainted with the nature of their laws. But Teske said, as his Government was fully convinced of the justice and philanthropy of the Emperor of Russia, who, besides watching over the welfare of his own subjects, ensured the happiness and prosperity of neighbouring nations, great anxiety was now manifested that such a monarch should not, through the misrepresentations of his Ambassadors, imbibe an erroneous opinion of the Japanese. The Government, therefore, wished, that we, together with the interpreters, should make new translations into Russian, of the original rescripts addressed to Laxman and Resanoff; and that, on our arrival in Russia, we should transmit the translations to the Government, or, if possible, to the Emperor himself. For the same purpose the Japanese requested, that we would take copies of Chwostoff's two documents, to which I have before alluded.

In translating these papers our interpreters sought to adhere as closely as possible to the literal sense; we likewise were no less desirous of becoming acquainted with the peculiar idioms of the Japanese language, and of obtaining a correct translation of these interesting and important documents. We,

therefore, paid no attention to elegance of style, and deviated as little from the original as the spirit of our own language would admit. On my return to Russia I laid these papers before the Government.

Our interpreters, moreover gave us a complete history of the negociations between the Japanese and Laxman and Resanoff; but I will not trespass on the patience of the reader, by detailing the particulars they stated. The rescript delivered to Laxman, evidently proves that the Japanese were not very well satisfied with his conduct; nevertheless, he succeeded in his mission, and obtained an authority for sending an envoy to Nangasaky, for the purpose of further communications. This permission shews, beyond a doubt, that the Japanese Government was, at that time, willing to enter into a commercial intercourse with Russia.

With the assistance of the Japanese we now proceeded to translate the paper, which was to be delivered with us on board of Captain Rikord's ship. It was to the following purport;—

"TRANSLATION.—

"NOTIFICATION.

"From the Ginmiyaks, the chief Commanders
"next to the Bunyo of Matsmai.

"Twenty-two years ago a Russian vessel ar-
"rived at Matsmai, and eleven years ago another
"came to Nangasaky. Though the laws of our

" country were, on both these occasions, minutely " explained, yet we are of opinion that we have " not been clearly understood on your part, owing " to the great dissimilarity between our language " and writing.* However, as we have now de- " tained you, it will be easy to give you an expla- " nation of these matters. When you return to " Russia, communicate to the Commanders of the " coasts of Kamtschatka, Okotzk and others, the " declaration of our Bunyo,† which will acquaint " them with the nature of the Japanese laws with " respect to the arrival of foreign ships, and pre- " vent a repetition of similar transgressions on " your part.

" In our country the Christian religion is " strictly prohibited, and European vessels are not " suffered to enter any Japanese harbour, except " Nangasaky. This law does not extend to Russian " vessels only. It has not this year been enforced " in Kunashier, because we wished to communicate " with your countrymen, and orders have been is- " sued to prevent firing against the vessel which is " expected; but all that may henceforth present

* On translating this passage Teske laughed, and candidly avowed that it was a mere artifice, to furnish the Japanese Government with some pretence for liberating us without a violation of their laws. There was no ground for supposing that Laxman and Resanoff had misunderstood any thing that was stated to them. Teske assured us, that his countrymen were complete adepts in managing affairs of this kind, and that they never scrupled at making any diplomatic equivocation.

† A paper which was to be given to Captain Rikord.

" themselves will be driven back by cannon-balls.
" Bear in mind this declaration, and you cannot
" complain if, at any future period, you should ex-
" perience a misfortune in consequence of your
" disregard of it.

" Among us there exists this law;—' If any
" European, residing in Japan, shall attempt to
" teach our people the Christian faith, he shall
" undergo a severe punishment, and shall not be
" restored to his native country.' As you, how-
" ever, have not attempted so to do, you will ac-
" cordingly be permitted to return home. Think
" well on this.

" About eight years ago, and three years pre-
" vious to the arrival of the Russian vessel at our
" Kurile Islands, Rashuauers* were repeatedly sent
" from the islands under your dominion to inspect
" our islands. Although we were aware of their
" real intentions, yet we took pity on the Rashu-
" auers, who were compelled blindly to obey the
" commands of the Russians, and on two occasions
" we suffered them to depart.† But should they
" again return, in defiance of our prohibition, they
" will be seized and condemned to undergo a legal
" chastisement. Bear this likewise in recollection.

" Our countrymen wish to carry on no
" commerce with foreign lands; for we know no

* Thus the Japanese denominated our Kuriles, because they came from the Island of Rashaua.

† On the first occasion they were even conveyed back.

" want of necessary things. Though foreigners " are permitted to trade at Nangasaky, even to that " harbour, only those are admitted with whom we " have for a long period maintained relations, " and we do not trade with them for the sake of " gain, but for other important objects. * From " the repeated solicitations which you have hither- " to made to us, you evidently imagine that the " customs of our country resemble those of your " own ; but you are very wrong in thinking so. " In future, therefore, it will be better to say no " more about a commercial connexion.

" TAKAHASSY-SAMPEI, (L. S.)
" COOD-SIMOTO-CHIOGORO, (L.S.)"

" Bunkwa, the 26th day of the 9th month
" of the 10th year."

(The seals of both these officers were affixed to the original document. †)

" Translated by
" MURAKAMI-TESKE.
" WECHARA-KUMADDSCHERO."

When the translation was completed, Teske,

* To procure various medicinal roots, which do not grow in Japan, and to be informed of the events passing in other nations, are two of the important objects here alluded to.

† Every Japanese carries a seal about him, which he frequently substitutes for his signature. For instance, when a person in military service reads the orders of his superior officer, which

by order of his superiors, observed to us that we must not, from the contents of this paper, infer that the Japanese entertained so great an abhorrence of the Christian faith as to regard all who acknowledged it as wicked and contemptible. On the contrary, added he, we know there are good and bad people in every country, and of all religions; the former are entitled to our love and respect, to whatever faith they may belong; but the latter we hate and despise. Teske, besides, reminded us that the strict prohibition of Christianity by the Japanese laws, was solely to be attributed to the mischievous civil wars which had arisen in Japan after its introduction.

The Schrabiyagu Otachi-Koeki about this time arrived at Chakodade. He was Governor of Kunashier during both the periods at which Captain Rikord visited that island. On his arrival, he immediately came to see us, and we observed a total change in his behaviour; for he now treated us with great civility and politeness, made inquiries respecting our health, and wished us a speedy and safe return to Russia. We were informed by Teske that the answer this officer gave to Captain Rikord in the preceding autumn, when he declared that we were all dead, was really contrived

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are usually written on long sheets of paper, he is required to affix his seal to them, and he cannot afterwards plead ignorance as his excuse for disobeying them.

with a hostile view; but that, on the last arrival of the Russian vessel, Otachi-Koeki had endeavoured to make amends for his former misconduct. It appeared, that the fortress of Kunashier was garrisoned by troops belonging to the Prince of Nambu. The commander of these troops, though a person of distinction, and an older man than Otachi-Koeki, was his inferior in command, because the latter governed the island on the part of the Emperor. The intention of the Japanese Government to treat with the Russians had been communicated to the Nambu chief, but he had received no instructions on the subject from his own prince. On the appearance of the *Diana*, he, therefore, made preparations for firing upon her, in conformity with his former orders. This decree was, however, opposed by Otachi-Koeki, * and the officer who was joined with him in the commission for treating with the Russians. They placed themselves before the cannon, and declared that if the Nambu chief had formed a determination to attack the Russians, he must first fire on them, and all the Japanese in the imperial service; for that, as long as they lived, they would, at every

* Otachi-Koeki had requested that a colleague of equal rank with himself might be joined with him in this negociation, in order that they might deliberate together on unexpected occurrences which required a prompt decision, and that the responsibility might rest on two persons instead of one.

hazard, prevent him from executing his purpose. The obstinate Nambu leader was thus brought to comply with the wishes of the imperial Government. We asked Teske how the Emperor would regard this refractory conduct on the part of the commandant of the garrison. The conduct of the commandant, replied he, must be decided upon by the Prince of Nambu. The Emperor will merely inquire why his orders were not earlier dispatched.

The two first weeks of September passed away, and we heard no tidings of the *Diana*. We feared that her departure had been delayed; and that, during the late season of the year, she had encountered some accident in her dangerous passage. We, therefore, hoped that Captain Rikord had postponed his voyage until the following spring, and would willingly, on that account, have remained eight or nine months longer in captivity. But Captain Rikord's courage and indefatigable activity prompted him to use the utmost dispatch in a case which concerned the interests of the state. He was anxious to conclude, that very year, the correspondence which had been so happily begun, and to prove to the Japanese that the Russians knew how to keep a promise.

On the night of the 16th of September our interpreters surprised us with the agreeable tidings that a large European three-masted ship had been seen near Cape Ermio, forming the western

side of the bay, * on which is situated the harbour of Endermo or Edomo, which Captain Rikord wished to enter, in order to obtain a pilot. No doubt was entertained of this vessel being the *Diana*. We had, however, to lament that continual western winds detained her at sea near these dangerous coasts. The interpreters further informed us, that on the *Diana* being observed, a courier had been sent off to the Bunyo who, it was expected, would immediately proceed to Chakodade.

We heard no more of the *Diana* until the evening of the 21st of September, when we were informed that she had been seen that day at noon, near the east side of Vulcan's Bay, endeavouring to enter the harbour of Edomo.

In the meanwhile a vast number of officers and soldiers arrived from all places in the vicinity of Chakodade, and curiosity induced them continually to come and see us. On seeing so many strange visitors, and recollecting that, during our journey to Chakodade, we had observed new batteries and barracks erected along the bay and the coasts, I began to suspect that the Japanese intended by some stratagem to capture the *Diana*, in revenge for Captain Rikord having seized one of their vessels and several men, on which occasion nine of

* Captain Broughton gave to this place the name of Vulcan's Bay, from the volcano which is in its neighbourhood.

their countrymen were drowned. The Japanese, in the course of their communication with Captain Rikord, had never even mentioned this affair; a circumstance which served to strengthen my suspicions. I asked Teske for what reason so considerable a number of soldiers had assembled in Chakodade, and what was intended by the numerous preparations we had observed. He replied that one of the Japanese laws required that measures of the strictest precaution should be adopted whenever they were visited by foreign vessels. "When Resanoff was at Nangasaky," said he, "a far greater number of soldiers were assembled and many more batteries erected; there are fewer troops here on account of the difficulty experienced in collecting them."—He besides smiled at my suspicions, and assured me that we had nothing to fear on the part of the Japanese.

On the 24th of September, the interpreters informed us that the *Diana* had arrived in Edomo. They shewed us a letter addressed by Captain Rikord to the officers in that town, which had been written in the Japanese language by an interpreter named Kisseleff, and the contents of which Teske explained to us. One of the Japanese sailors, whom Captain Rikord had conveyed home in the spring, had been sent to him as a pilot, and he requested in his letter that a more intelligent man—and, if possible, Tachatay-Kachi, on whom he could place reliance—might be put on board the *Diana*. Captain Ri-

kord moreover informed the Japanese that he stood in need of a supply of fresh water, and begged that his letters might be answered in the common and not in the high language, as the interpreter Kisseleff could read only the former.

Teske and Kumaddschero told us that orders had been immediately issued for supplying the *Diana* not only with water, but provisions of every kind as far as they could be procured in Edomo. With regard to Captain Rikord's request, that his letters might be answered in the common language, they observed, that papers in that language could be signed only by inferior officers, and that, if the answers should contain any thing important, they would require the signatures of individuals of higher rank; for, according to their laws, no person of distinction could sign official papers written in the vulgar tongue. Consequently his wish in this respect could not be complied with. As to his application for Tachatay-Kachi, he could not be sent on board the *Diana* as a pilot without the consent of the Bunyo, and some days must therefore elapse before the regular authorities for that purpose would be obtained. As, however, the Japanese authorities were well assured of the competency of the sailor who had been sent on board the *Diana*, Captain Rikord might safely rely on him until his ship came within sight of Chakodade, when Tachatay-Kachi should be immediately sent on board. For this purpose, regular signals were prepared,

which communicated from a hill to the boat in which Kachi was to sail to the *Diana*. The Japanese wished that I should clearly explain to Captain Rikord all these arrangements. I agreed to do so, and at the conclusion of my letter, observed that I wrote to him in compliance with the request of the Japanese, as they wished me to assure him that he had no reason to apprehend danger on entering Chakodade; but this I could not resolve to do, lest I should become the instrument of the ruin of my countrymen, if the Japanese entertained any treacherous design. When I remarked that the Japanese might, by proceeding with candour and sincerity, convince Captain Rikord that he had nothing to fear, the interpreters made no observation on that subject, but expressed themselves satisfied with what I had written.

On the following day the Ginmiyaku Sampey came to visit us; he merely repeated what we had already heard from the interpreters, and informed us that my letter had been forwarded to Captain Rikord.

On the night of the 27th of September a fire broke out in a magazine belonging to a merchant,*

* During the spring two warehouses filled with goods, and in course of the summer a house, all belonging to the same merchant, were burnt down. There was every reason to suspect that they were wilfully set on fire, but the perpetrators of the crime could not be discovered. The interpreters informed us that occurrences of this kind were by no means unfrequent, although incendiaries are by the laws of Japan condemned to a most severe punishment. The

at no great distance from the house in which we lived. A great alarm was excited in the city, the cause of which our attendants immediately explained to us, and they began to make preparations in case our removal should have been found necessary. However, the interpreter and Sampey soon came to assure us that measures had been adopted to prevent the flames from communicating to our house. They then left us,* and the fire was

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offender on being conducted to the place of execution, which is usually without the walls of the city, is stript and tied to a stake, round which, at a short distance, piles of lighted wood are placed. The criminal is thus slowly burnt to death, and endures the most unspeakable torture. On the flames being extinguished, a tablet, on which are inscribed his name, and an account of the crime for which he suffered, is nailed to the stake, and his body is abandoned as a prey to the wild beasts and birds. Wilful setting fire to a building is, according to the laws of Japan, the crime next in enormity to parricide.

* In cases of fire the Japanese, both officers and soldiers, wear a particular dress, which we had now an opportunity of seeing. It exactly resembles their military uniform; consisting of coats of mail, sleeve cases, &c. But the whole is composed of light varnished leather, so that this armour is not burthensome to the wearer, and cannot be injured by the sparks which issue from the fire. On the coat of mail the rank and office of the wearer are described. To extinguish a fire is regarded a most glorious achievement among the Japanese. When a fire breaks out in the capital, where there are numerous corps of troops, the commander who first proceeds to extinguish it, fixes his standard near the spot, and it is deemed exceedingly offensive if another officer lends his assistance without being invited by him who has by his early arrival obtained possession of the ground. In former times, occurrences of this nature frequently gave rise to duels between the princes and grandees, and sometimes battles, in which their respective adherents engaged

extinguished in the course of a few hours, but the magazine in which it first broke out was reduced to ashes.

On the morning of the 27th of September the Bunyo arrived, and, in the evening the *Diana* approached the harbour. In fulfilment of the promise made by the Japanese, Tachatay-Kachi was immediately sent on board, in company with the commander of the port,* as the latter possessed a more intimate knowledge of the dangers of that part of the coast. Night having already set in, the *Diana* brought up in safe anchoring ground at the mouth of the harbour. This we learnt from the commander of the port, who returned on shore the same night.

Though the wind was unfavourable, the *Diana*, to the astonishment of the Japanese, came into the harbour on the following day. From the window of a little apartment, in which our bath stood, we saw her working in. The bay was covered with boats, and every elevated spot in the city was crowded with spectators, who were filled with amazement on seeing so large a vessel making progress on every tack against the wind. The Japanese who were allowed access to us, came every moment to express their wonder at the great num-

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Even now, serious contentions often arise when one officer shews an inclination to deprive another of the honour of having extinguished a fire.

* An office which corresponds with that of our harbour master.

ber of the *Diana*'s sails, and the rapidity with which she advanced.

A few hours after the *Diana* had cast anchor, Teske and Kumaddschero, the Academician and the Dutch Interpreter, appeared with a large paper, which Tachatay-Kachi had received from Captain Rikord, and had conveyed ashore. This paper, which was by the Bunyo's order brought to us for translation, was an answer from the commander of the Okotzk District to the demand of the two officers next in rank to the Bunyo. Mr. Minitzky clearly explained that the proceedings of Chwostoff were quite unauthorized by our government, that the Emperor of Russia had always been favourably disposed towards Japan, and that he had never entertained a design to injure the subjects of that empire. He accordingly advised the Japanese to prove, by our speedy liberation, their friendly disposition towards Russia, and their readiness to terminate differences which had arisen out of their own mistakes, and the reprehensible conduct of an obscure individual. He added, that every delay on their part must be attended with injurious consequences to the Japanese commerce and fisheries; as the inhabitants of the coasts would be severely harassed by the Russian vessels in case further visits to Japan on account of this affair should be necessary.

The Japanese expressed themselves highly pleased with the contents of this letter, and inti-

mated that the explanations it contained were sufficient to produce a thorough conviction that Chwostoff had acted without the sanction of the Russian Government; they, therefore, congratulated us on our speedy liberation and return to our native country.

With regret I must now recur to a melancholy subject. From the day on which the *Diana* had first been discovered off the coast of Japan, Mr. Moor had appeared unusually melancholy and thoughtful. As he had no longer any hope of remaining in Japan, he resolved, if possible, to prevent the communications which were about to take place. He began by observing, that Mr. Minitzky's letter was rude and uncivil, and that it contained an insolent threat, by declaring that the Russian vessels would injure the trade of Japan and the people who inhabited its coasts. He assured the Japanese that these were merely empty words. The interpreters, with some degree of dissatisfaction, replied, that the Japanese were not fools, but were well aware of the mischief which might be effected by Russian ships on their coasts, in case of war, and that they, moreover, thought Mr. Minitzky's letter extremely reasonable. We were much consoled by this declaration, on a subject which was to us of such weighty importance; but all our prayers and entreaties made no impression on Mr. Moor.

I must not omit mentioning another praiseworthy trait in the Japanese character, which oc-

curred at this time. Besides the official business to which Mr. Minitzky alluded in his letter, he addressed an intercession to the Bunyo in favour of Leonsaimo, the Japanese who had been in Russia, and who, he was informed,* had incurred the displeasure of the Government. The interpreters assured us that the Bunyo and all the officers were extremely pleased with the humane sympathy shewn by Mr. Minitzky for the misfortunes of a foreigner, and the benevolent anxiety he had manifested for the bettering of his condition. Now, said they, the Elders† in the capital will be convinced of their error, and will learn that the Russians are not bears and barbarians, but a humane and feeling people.

On the same day, the interpreters informed us that Captain Rikord was the bearer of a letter and several presents from the Civil Governor of Irkutzk to the Bunyo of Matsmai, and that he had expressed a wish to deliver them with his own hands.

A day was to be appointed for Captain Rikord's coming ashore, as it was stated that the Japanese officers did not dare to meet him in boats, in order to communicate with him.—This circumstance rendered some of my companions a little uneasy. What can the Japanese mean, said they,

* Captain Rikord had received this information from Tachatay-Kachi.

† They alluded to those Members of the High Council who opposed all friendly intercourse between Russia and Japan.

by wishing that another of our commanders should come ashore, when they have already made one the victim of their treachery.

We looked forward with anxiety and fear for the 30th of September, the day on which it was determined that Captain Rikord should deliver the letter and the presents for the Bunyo.

When the day arrived, the Japanese brought us some wretchedly executed portraits of the Russian officers and sailors, which had been sketched as they came ashore. They observed, that the interpreter had a Japanese countenance, and that he must certainly be a native of Japan in a Russian dress. We, on our part, knew nothing respecting Kisseleff. When our interpreters explained to us Captain Rikord's letter from Edomo, which was written in Japanese by Kisseleff, they inquired who he was. We conjectured that he was a native of Irkutzk, and that he had learnt the language from the Japanese who lived there.

When the conference was at an end, the interpreters came to inform us, that we might, if we pleased, ascend to the second story of our house to see Captain Rikord depart. We saw the Governor's state boat* sailing under three flags† from the shore to the *Diana*, but owing to the great dis-

* In size it rather resembled a galley than a boat.

† Three flags were the Japanese standard, the Russian war-flag and the white flag of peace.

tance we could not recognise the individuals on board of it.

We had no sooner returned to our apartments than the Japanese brought a letter which had been delivered by Captain Rikord, and of which they wished us to make a translation. This letter had been written by the Civil Governor of Irkutzk, on Captain Rikord's first report, and consequently before he could have been made acquainted with the contents of the Japanese paper, which was afterwards sent on board the *Diana*. The Governor began by representing the object of our voyage, and the treacherous conduct of the Japanese at Kunashier; he then declared that Chwostoff had acted without the sanction of the Russian Government, and entreated the Governor of Matsmai to grant us our immediate freedom, or to negociate on that subject with Captain Rikord, his plenipotentiary. If, however, neither of these requests could be complied with, without the consent of the Japanese Government, he was requested to state when, and to what place the vessel should proceed, to obtain an answer. He mentioned the presents, consisting of a gold watch and some red cassimir, which he sent to the Governor of Matsmai, as tokens of his neighbourly friendship. He, besides, stated that Captain Rikord was the bearer of a letter of thanks, which he was directed to deliver whenever our freedom might be granted. Finally, he expressed his hope of obtaining an answer

corresponding with his demand, on failure of which, he should be compelled reluctantly to conclude that Japan was hostilely disposed towards Russia, and must lay before his Emperor a declaration to that effect. His Imperial Majesty would then consider himself bound to employ a force corresponding with his power, and to obtain satisfaction by an appeal to arms, though by such measures the empire of Japan might be shaken to its very foundation.

This letter was accompanied by translations in the Mandschur and Japanese languages; the Japanese said, however, that they had no Mandschur interpreter, and that several passages in the Japanese translation were quite unintelligible. We were, therefore, obliged to make another translation of it, a task which kept us employed for more than two days.* When the translation was finished, the interpreters carried it to the Bunyo; but in a short time brought it back, for the purpose of obtaining some explanations which were deemed necessary. They praised the general tenor of the letter, and expressed their dissatisfaction at two passages only. The Japanese were astonished the letter

* The Japanese were formerly accustomed to carry away even the copies of such Russian papers as were translated. However, the original letter from the Governor of Irkutzk, though more important than any paper sent by the Russians to the Japanese, was allowed to remain with us two days and a night. We regarded this as a favourable omen.

should speak of the faithless conduct practised towards us, and describe it as an arbitrary measure of the Commandant of Kunashier, unsanctioned by the Emperor of Japan, since they had, by their communications, avowed that we were taken prisoners by order of the Government.* But their pride was chiefly wounded by the observation that Japan would be shaken to its foundation. They insisted on being made acquainted with the precise meaning of this sentence. I first wished to explain to them by examples what was meant by the employment of a force corresponding with a person's power. "Suppose," said I, "that I were to throw a feather at an individual with whom I was offended, I should not then use a force corresponding with my power, but if I threw a heavy stone with violence, I then should use a corresponding force. In the same manner, the two attacks made by Chwostoff in no way correspond with the power of Russia, and his two ships in comparison with our empire are not equal to a feather in my hand." In order to make them understand the phrase "shaken to its foundation," I shook Teske several times by the shoulders.

* At the commencement of our captivity the Japanese wished to attach all the blame of their treachery to the Governor of Kunashier. They, however, afterwards admitted that he, as well as all other commanders of maritime towns, had received orders to capture, either by stratagem or force, every Russian vessel that might approach their coasts.

At first the Japanese seemed offended at our entertaining so mean an opinion of the strength of their country, and asked, with haughtiness and ill-humour, how our Emperor could hope to shake Japan in that way. I replied, that the letter alluded to the people of Japan, and not the territory, and you must surely be convinced, said I, that if Russia chose to declare war against Japan, and to fit out a force, she might easily effect the destruction of your empire.

I was well aware, that the interpreters were merely the organs of the Bunyo and the superior officers, and that often, in the course of apparently undesigned conversation, their language was purposely so framed as to inform us of all we wished to know; I, therefore, followed their example, and to set them at ease with regard to the threats which had so irritated them, observed, as it were accidentally, that the Governor of Irkutzk had written his letter before he knew any thing of the papers left behind by Chwostoff, the false declaration of the Kuriles, or the wish of the Japanese Government to correspond with Russia. I added, that though their unaccountable proceedings towards our ship, in the preceding year, would have induced any other state to declare war against them, yet the humanity of our Emperor would not permit him to resort to measures of violence, until he should receive a decisive letter of explanation.

The interpreters agreed with me in maintain-

ing that the former situation of affairs justified the Governor of Irkutzk in writing such a letter, though it was now unnecessary. I admitted the justice of this observation, and assured them, that the Governor would not have so expressed himself had he been convinced of the readiness of the Japanese to adjust all their past differences with Russia. They seemed fully satisfied with this answer.

I am sorry that I am, on this occasion, again obliged to speak of Mr. Moor's conduct. He declared, that the letter of the Governor of Irkutzk was couched in arrogant and insulting terms, and that the presents he had sent were almost too insignificant to be offered to the meanest officer. Fortunately, however, the Japanese had some time previously conveyed these presents on shore. The watch was shewn to us: it contained a curious piece of mechanism, which excited the astonishment of the Japanese, and they were totally unable to comprehend it. On touching a particular spring, a horse appeared drinking in an artificial stream of water, and occasionally raising and lowering his head. On seeing it, Mr. Moor, himself, confessed that the present was not so trifling as he had supposed. The Japanese declared, that they had never before heard of so wonderful a work of art.

When we had explained the Governor's letter, the interpreters proposed that I should write to Captain Rikord, and request that he would send ashore the letter of thanks which had been entrusted

to him. I, however, stated, that this could not possibly be done, as Captain Rikord had been directed not to deliver the letter until our liberation should take place. The interpreters acknowledged the justice of this objection, and said nothing more on the subject.

In the meanwhile Tachatay-Kachi, who had been sent to communicate personally with Captain Rikord, brought to his countrymen the intelligence of the French having taken Moscow, and burnt it to ashes; and that they had afterwards precipitately retreated from Russia with a prodigious loss. This news greatly astonished us, and we felt very anxious to know every particular relating to these events. With the consent of the Japanese I wrote a note to Captain Rikord to request that he would send me all the newspapers that might happen to be on board the sloop. On the following day the interpreter brought to me the Military Gazette, and several letters from my friends and relations in Russia. I immediately declined breaking open any of the letters which were addressed to me, and requested Teske to enclose them in a packet, and send them back to the *Diana*. The interpreter praised my determination, and promised to make known my wish to the Bunyo. I was well aware that had I broken open these letters, I must immediately have made copies and translations of them, to be forwarded to

the capital. The interpreter soon after informed me, that the letters could not be sent back to the *Diana* until we were set at liberty; but that they had sealed them up in a packet, which they would deliver to me, and which I might carry on board with me at my departure. I readily agreed to this proposal.

We perused the journals with the utmost impatience. They contained an account of all the events which had taken place from the enemy's invasion of Russia to the death of the Prince of Smolensko. The Japanese were almost as anxious as we to know by what means affairs had taken so surprising a turn in so short a period; and they requested, that we would give them a translated narrative of the most remarkable events of the campaign. When we informed them, that the French had been obliged to fight their way out of Moscow, in which they were blocked up, and that almost their whole army had been destroyed in Russia, they clapped their hands, and declared that the Prince Smolensko had manœuvred in the true Japanese style; for one of their principal maxims of war was to allure the enemy as much as possible into the interior of their country, and then to surround him on every side with powerful armies. We smiled at this comparison, and jokingly observed to each other, that the presumption of the Japanese might perhaps induce them

to believe that our immortal Kutosoff had studied tactics in the books of which Chwostoff had plundered them!

Tachatay-Kachi was permitted to visit us for the first time on the 3d of October. He came, accompanied by the interpreters, on his return from the *Diana*. This venerable old man was unable to express himself in the Russian language; but, with the assistance of the interpreters, he succeeded in making us understand him in Japanese. He spoke in terms of the highest praise and gratitude of Captain Rikord, the officers and crew of the *Diana*, and of all the Russians whom he had known in Kamtschatka. We asked him many questions concerning Russia, but he could not satisfy our curiosity, as he was ignorant of the subjects which most excited our interest. On taking leave of us, he requested that I would write to inform Captain Rikord that we had seen him. I readily agreed to do so, and he promised that he would himself forward the letter.

At length the interpreters received orders to inform us that the Bunyo considered the paper brought by Captain Rikord perfectly satisfactory, and that he had resolved to set us at liberty. Before my departure he, however, wished that I should hold a conference with Captain Rikord on shore, in order that, as I was acquainted with the Japanese laws, knew the strictness with which

they were enforced, and was in some measure familiar with the customs of the country, I might personally make the following communication to my friend. *First*, That though the Japanese did not cherish the least hatred towards the Russians, yet the Bunyo of Matsmai could not accept of the presents which had been sent to him. If he accepted them, he would be bound to make some recompence for them; but intercourse of that kind was wholly prohibited by the laws of Japan. The Japanese, therefore, hoped that we would not take offence at the presents being returned. *Secondly*, That the letter from the commandant of the circle of Okotzk was a satisfactory answer to the demand for explanation transmitted that year by Captain Rikord, therefore the said letter would be the only paper mentioned in the written declaration which the Bunyo intended should be delivered to Capt. Rikord. *Thirdly*, That as affairs, doubtless, stood in the state in which it was represented in the letter of the commandant of Okotzk, the Bunyo of Matsmai could not answer the Governor of Irkutzk, as the latter was ignorant of many circumstances relative to Chwostoff, and had not been apprized of the intention of the Japanese Government to correspond with Russia on that subject. *Fourthly*, The Japanese requested that Mr. Rikord would address a letter to the two officers next in command to the Bunyo,

to assure them that the Governor of Irkutzk knew nothing of the documents left behind by Chwostoff, the false statements of the Kuriles, nor the intentions of the Japanese Government at the time he wrote his letter. *Fifthly*, and *lastly*, That Captain Rikord should pledge himself to a perfect understanding of the Russian translation of the declaration to be delivered in the name of the Bunyo of Matsmai, and promise to lay it before our Government on his return; and, to enable him to give this pledge, I was to be furnished with a copy of the declaration, which I was to shew to him on our conference.

The 5th of October was the day appointed for my interview with Captain Rikord. The Japanese proposed that Mr. Moor should be present; but this, to their astonishment, he declined. Mr. Chlebnikoff wished to enjoy the satisfaction of seeing his countrymen and companions, but the Japanese were of opinion, that considering Mr. Moor's disordered state of mind, it would not be prudent to leave him alone.

On the morning of the 5th one of the interpreters brought my hat, and the other my sword, which they presented to me with demonstrations of great respect, whilst they, at the same time, sincerely congratulated me. In compliance with the wish of the Japanese, I dressed myself in a rich silken jacket and loose trowsers, which had been

made in Chakodade for the occasion.* The sword and cocked hat was calculated to add to the singularity of this dress in the eyes of Europeans; but this was an object of indifference to the Japanese. As, however, the restoration of our swords indicated that the Japanese no longer looked upon us as prisoners, I readily acceded to their wishes, and resolved to appear before my companions in a dress in which, had they not been prepared for the meeting, they might have found it difficult to recognise me. In addition, my hair was far from being cut in the Russian style, and had I not recently shaved my long beard, my appearance would have been altogether extremely ludicrous.

The place fixed upon for my interview with Captain Rikord was an apartment in the custom-house, which was situated near the shore. The

* When the Japanese first expressed their intention of making this sort of state-dress for us, they brought for our inspection several pieces of rich silk-stuff, resembling damask. The pieces were of different colours, and each lay in a separate box. They desired that we should each select the colour we liked best, but we insisted on leaving the choice to them, and declared that we were quite indifferent as to the colour of our clothes. They, however, insisted, that we should choose for ourselves, since they had received orders to that effect from the capital. I pointed to the box which happened to stand nearest to me, and my companions did the same. The Japanese then opened the rest of the boxes, shewed us every piece of cloth, and observed, that they had received orders from the Government to make our clothes of the best materials, which were only to be procured in Matsmai.

three interpreters, the academician, and a few of the inferior officers, were ordered to be present as witnesses. At midday I was conducted to the custom-house, round which a number of troops were drawn up in parade.* I proceeded along with the interpreters to the conference-chamber. The Japanese, according to custom, seated themselves on the floor, but a seat was handed to me. Captain Rikord soon arrived in the Governor's barge, accompanied by Mr. Saweljeff, one of his officers, the interpreter Kisseleff, and a few sailors. The latter were stationed in an open place in front of the house, and Captain Rikord, Saweljeff, and Kisseleff entered the apartment in which I was waiting to receive them.—I leave the reader to imagine the transport of our meeting!

A seat was immediately placed for Captain Rikord, and the interpreters having intimated that we might converse together as long as we pleased, they stepped aside and paid no attention to what we said. The joy, astonishment, and curiosity with which our questions and answers succeeded each other, may easily be conceived. Captain Rikord

* On festival days, or on the unusual occurrence of receiving foreigners, the Japanese soldiers wear silk, or velvet dresses embroidered with gold and silver, which are like their common gowns with full sleeves, only somewhat shorter. These state-dresses are the property of the Government: they are kept in imperial magazines, and only delivered to the soldiers on the occasions above mentioned. They constitute no particular uniform, but are all made of different materials, and variously embroidered.

wished to know all that had occurred to us during our imprisonment; and I, in my turn, inquired after the affairs of Russia, and thus we proceeded from one subject to another. At length I explained the object of our interview, and the wish of the Japanese; and he acquainted me with the instructions he had received from the Civil-Governor of Irkutzk, respecting a determination of boundaries, and a treaty of friendship between the two empires. On taking into consideration the whole business, it appeared to us that the propositions of the Japanese were reasonable, and that, consequently, we ought to comply with them; but that, for the following reasons, it would not be advisable, at that time, to negociate for the fixing of boundaries and an alliance. From the documents which we had translated we knew the conditions on which the Japanese Government had authorized the Bunyo to liberate us, and, likewise, what declaration he had to communicate; consequently, he could have returned no answer to any new proposal, on our part, without receiving instructions from the capital. The vessel must, besides, have wintered in Chakodade; and this would have been placing ourselves completely in the power of the Japanese; for though the harbour seldom freezes, yet the winter is severe and of long duration. The crew on board the *Diana* would also have been exposed to considerable danger, and the vessel might even have been rendered unfit to perform the voyage

home ; for the violent storms which occur during winter, on the coast of Japan, might have parted her from her anchors, and driven her ashore. To have requested permission for the seamen to disembark and live on shore, and to have the ship unrigged in a safe place, would have been to subject ourselves to the same conditions which Resanoff and his suite had submitted to at Nangasaky, namely, to resign the vessel entirely to the Japanese—and this at a time when we ought to have asserted our claim to three islands, which, in our opinion, they had unjustly occupied.

Besides it had, at various times, been intimated to me by the interpreters, (who always spoke the sentiments of the Bunyo,) that notwithstanding the unfavourable answer of the Japanese Government, they did not entirely despair of seeing a friendly alliance established between Russia and Japan, but that to accomplish it would require prudent management on our part. The interpreters suggested one method to us, but I shall pass it over, in order that I may not farther interrupt the thread of my Narrative.

When every thing was arranged between Captain Rikord and me, the Japanese produced the translated declaration of the Bunyo of Matsmai. Captain Rikord, in return, delivered in the document required by the Japanese, which Teske translated, shewed to the officers present, and then informed us that they were perfectly satisfied with it.

The Japanese did not evince the least sign of impatience at the length of this interview, and at the end of our conference, presented us with tea and sweetmeats. At length Captain Rikord departed. I accompanied him to the boat in which he embarked to go on board the *Diana*, and then returned to our house.

My companions awaited my return with the utmost anxiety. I acquainted them with all I had heard from Mr. Rikord respecting the political affairs of Europe, the entrance of the French into Russia, and every particular relative to our families and friends. Two circumstances, however, I was under the necessity of concealing; namely, that Tachatay-Kachi had communicated to the Japanese the instructions given to Mr. Rikord respecting the settling of the boundaries, and that the interpreter Kisseleff was a Japanese by birth. These facts I did not chuse to disclose, in order to avoid giving uneasiness to my distrustful fellow prisoners, who to the last moment doubted the sincerity of the Japanese.

It will appear from Captain Rikord's account of his expedition to Matsmai how much we were indebted to him, and to his excellency the civil governor of Irkutzk. I must also with a feeling of gratitude mention that Captain Rikord's bold decision to land* and hold a conference in the town,

* We had no reason for supposing that the Japanese would act as treacherously towards Captain Rikord as they had done to us.

contributed not a little to the favourable conclusion of the negociation; for the interpreters had previously assured us, that if Captain Rikord did not come on shore great difficulties would arise, the end of which could not be foreseen.

On the 6th of October, in the morning, the interpreters delivered to Messrs. Chlebnikoff and Moor their sabres and hats in the most respectful manner, and stated that we were on that day to be presented to the Bunyo, who would in person notify our liberation. He advised us to put on our best clothes, and to wear our swords when we appeared before the Bunyo.—To this proposal we gladly assented. At noon we were conducted to the house of the governor of the town where the Bunyo re-

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Indeed, the formal declaration of the Bunyo, that he was authorized to grant us our liberty on receiving a satisfactory answer; our new residence; and the good treatment we experienced—all tended to convince us of the contrary. But of this Mr. Rikord was entirely ignorant, as Simanoff had informed him that we were all confined in one place and treated without any distinction. I had moreover, in my letter to Mr. Rikord, requested that he would incur no danger, and advised him to communicate with the Japanese only in boats, at the distance of a gun-shot from the batteries. His decisive resolution, therefore, to come on shore in a Japanese boat did not arise from a conviction of there being no danger, but from his courage and generous determination to risk every thing for our deliverance; besides, as he was the bearer of official papers from the Commandant of the frontier Russian Government to the Bunyo of Matsmai, his sense of duty was too great to allow him to think of his own safety. In case of a new act of treachery, the *Diana* wou have conveyed information back to Russia, and the Japanese wou certainly have received a just chastisement for violating the mo sacred law of nations, since they were bound to respect the person of Captain Rikord as that of an ambassador.

sided. We three officers were shewn into a very neat apartment, and the sailors and Alexei were desired to remain in another. In a few hours Mr. Chlebnikoff, Mr. Moor, and I were requested to enter a spacious hall, in which the officers, the academician, and the interpreters were assembled. They were more than twenty in number, and were seated in rows on each side of the hall. The Bunyo soon entered with his retinue and took his seat. The officers made their obedience to him, we bowed in the European way and he returned our salutation :—all the old ceremonies were repeated, except that the sword-bearer, instead of laying the sword by the side of the Bunyo as formerly, held it perpendicularly in both hands, with the hilt upwards. The Bunyo then drew a large sheet of paper from his bosom and holding it up said : " This contains the orders of the Government !"—The interpreters immediately translated these words ; while the officers however sat with their eyes cast down, as if they had been deprived of all animation. The Bunyo then unfolded the paper and read its contents aloud. It was the document, a copy of which has already been given, stating that Chwostoff's misconduct had been the occasion of our imprisonment ; but that, as the Bunyo was convinced that the said Chwostoff had acted without the sanction of the Russian Government, he was authorized to grant us our liberty, and that we should embark on the following day.

The interpreters having translated this paper,

and assured the Bunyo that we understood it, one of the senior officers was dispatched in company with Kumaddschero to communicate its contents to the sailors. In the meanwhile, the Bunyo produced another paper which he likewise read aloud, and afterwards desired Teske to translate and to hand it to me. It was a congratulation from the Bunyo to the following effect:—

" You have now lived three years in a Japanese " frontier town, and in a foreign climate, but you " are now about to return to your native country. " This affords me great pleasure. You, Captain " Golownin, as the chief of your companions, must " have endured most anxiety of mind, and I sin- " cerely rejoice that you have attained your happy " object. You have, in some measure, become " acquainted with the laws of our country, which " prohibit us from maintaining any commerce with " the people of foreign nations, and require that " we should drive all foreign vessels from our " coasts: explain this to your countrymen on your " return home. It has been our wish whilst you " remained in Japan to treat you with all possible " kindness; but before you became acquainted " with our customs, our behaviour may have ap- " peared to you the very opposite of what we in- " tended. Each nation has its peculiar customs, " but good conduct will every where be esteemed " as such. On your return to Russia, inform your

" countrymen of this likewise. I wish you all a " safe voyage."

We thanked the Bunyo for his condescension. Having listened to our acknowledgements, he withdrew, and we were requested to return to our house.

Throughout the whole of these proceedings, not the slightest indication of joy was observable on Mr. Moor's countenance; he merely repeated, that he was unworthy of the acts of kindness which the Japanese conferred upon him.

On our return home a number of officers, soldiers and other individuals, came to wish us joy. The three officers next in rank to the Bunyo also presented to me a written congratulation, which they requested I would preserve, as a memorial of our friendship. The following is a translation of this paper :—

" From the Ginmiyaks.

" You have all lived for a long period in Japan, " but you are now to return to your native country " by order of the Bunyo. The period of your de- " parture is fast approaching. During your long " residence here such an intimacy has arisen be- " tween us, that we cannot help regretting the ne- " cessity of our separation. The distance between " the Island of Matsmai and our eastern capital is " very considerable, and in this frontier town there " are many deficiences. You have, however, been

" accustomed to heat, cold and other variations of " weather, and are now prepared for your happy " voyage home. Your own joy must be extreme; " we, on our part, rejoice at the happy issue of the " affair. May God protect you on your voyage, " for that we pray to him. We write this as a fare- " well letter."

The joy of the Japanese was, indeed, unfeigned. We understood from the interpreters, that in consequence of an application from the High Priest of the city, the Bunyo had issued orders that prayers for our safe voyage should be offered up in all the temples for the space of five days.

On the 6th of October, one of the officers, accompanied by Kumaddschero, was sent on board the *Diana*, to inform Captain Rikord that the orders for our liberation had been officially announced by the Bunyo. At their request, I wrote a letter to this effect to Mr. Rikord. In the evening, by the Governor's order, a supper was laid out for us in the upper apartment of our house. This supper consisted of ten different dishes, containing fish, game, ducks and geese, cooked in various ways. After supper, some of the best Japanese sagi was served out to us. Several boxes, containing lackered vessels, were afterwards brought in, as presents from the interpreters, in return for the books which, with the consent of the Government, they had received from us; but they had been ordered

to accept of nothing more.* We were, however, very well assured that these presents were sent to us at the expense of the Government.

On the following day, the 7th of October, we put on our best clothes. The servants and guards packed up our other clothes in boxes, without omitting the least trifle, and placed them in the portico of the house. At midday we were conducted to the shore. Our clothes, the presents we had received, and the provisions for our voyage,† were carried behind us by a number of attendants. On reaching the harbour, we entered a building near the custom-house, where Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff, and I were shewn into one apartment, and the sailors into another. We had been only

* The Japanese kept a list of all the things we possessed. A few days before our departure they looked them over, and missed a pair of stockings, which we had cut in pieces for the purpose of distributing among the guards. They immediately inquired what had become of them. We replied, that we had given the pieces as presents to the soldiers, but declined naming the individuals who had received them. But the interpreters insisted on knowing the names of the men, stating, that as the care of our property had been entrusted solely to them, they would be called to account in case of any thing being left behind. They assured us that no punishment would await the guards. We, on the other hand, represented that there was no difference between our property and other European articles, and that the Government could not possibly ascertain that the things had not been brought to Japan by the Dutch. Here the matter rested.

† These provisions consisted of fifty bags of rice, a few casks of sagi, a quantity of salted and fresh fish, radishes, &c.

a few moments in this place, when Captain Rikord came ashore, accompanied by Mr. Saweljeff, the interpreter, Kisseleff, and some other individuals. He, and his two companions, were conducted to the same apartment in which, a few days before, my interview with him had taken place, and which Mr. Chlebnikoff, Mr. Moor and I, were immediately requested to enter. Sampey and Chiogoro were among the officers whom we found assembled; they sat together on the place which had formerly been occupied by the Bunyo. The former desired one of the inferior officers to present to Captain Rikord a salver, on which was a box, containing the declaration of the Bunyo of Matsmai, folded up in silken cloth. The officer, with much ceremony and respect, advanced towards Captain Rikord, who, at the request of the Japanese, read the translation of the document from beginning to end. The next ceremony was the delivery to me of the paper, entitled "a NOTIFICATION from the two officers next in rank to the Governor of Matsmai." It was enclosed in a box and wrapt in silk, but it was not presented on a salver, nor by the same officer who had handed the other document to Captain Rikord. Though I knew perfectly well the contents of the paper, for the sake of formality, I was requested to read it. The presents sent by the Governor of Irkutzk were then returned to us, and we received a list of the provisions which had been provided for our voyage. The Japanese hav-

ing wished us a happy voyage to Russia, took leave of us, and withdrew.

When every thing was in readiness for our departure, we were conducted to the Bunyo's barge, on board of which we embarked, accompanied by Tachatay-Kachi; our clothes, provisions, and the presents being placed in separate boats. On our way from the custom-house to the boats all the Japanese, not only those with whom we were acquainted, but the strangers who were looking on, bade us adieu, and wished us a safe voyage.

The officers and seamen on board the *Diana* received us with a degree of joy, or rather enthusiasm, which can only be felt by brothers or intimate friends after a long absence, and a series of similar adventures. With regard to ourselves, I can only say, that—after an imprisonment of two years, two months, and twenty-six days, on finding ourselves again in an imperial Russian ship, surrounded by our countrymen, with whom we had, for five or six years, served in remote, dangerous, and laborious voyages—we felt what men are capable of feeling, but which cannot be described.

CHAPTER VI.

According to the title of this book, my Narrative should conclude with the preceding chapter; but the events which are here related, are so closely interwoven with those which occurred during my captivity in Japan, that I feel confident the reader will not regard the addition as superfluous.

On our reaching the *Diana*, the Governor's boat immediately put back, by Captain Rikord's orders, with a Japanese, who, on account of illness, had been left behind at Okotzk.* Mr. Rikord wished to have landed him at Edomo, but there, as well as at Chakodade, the Japanese officers would not suffer him to go ashore, and they now, for the first time, consented to receive him.

In the afternoon, we were visited by our interpreters, the academician, and several officers, whose rank was three or four degrees beneath that of the

* This man was one of the individuals who, in the year 1811, suffered shipwreck on the coast of Kamtschatka. One of his legs had been so severely frozen, that, notwithstanding every remedy applied by our physician, it was found necessary to amputate it, and he walked with a wooden leg. At this the Japanese were greatly astonished; for, though the Dutch have made some of their surgeons acquainted with the art of amputating, yet very few are sufficiently skilful to attempt the operation.

Bunyo. Teske and Kumaddschero brought presents for Captain Rikord and me, consisting of silk, Japanese tea, and their best sagi and sweetmeats; in return for which, we entertained our guests with tea, sweet brandy and cordials. They drank so copiously that they soon became extremely cheerful and talkative. Captain Rikord delivered to the interpreters the letter of thanks from the Governor of Irkutzk, and as there was a copy at hand they immediately, with our assistance, translated it into their own language. The Japanese now expressed a wish to see the signature of the Emperor of Russia. Among my papers, on board the vessel, I happened to have an Imperial Rescript, which I had received on being invested with the Order of St. Wladimir. I immediately laid the paper on the table, and pointed to the signature of the Emperor, upon which the Japanese all bowed their heads towards the table, and in that position remained for several mintues. They then inspected the signature with demonstrations of the highest respect, and having kept their eyes fixed upon it for some time, they again repeated the ceremony of bowing their heads to the table.

When our friends, the Japanese, were preparing to take their leave, we gave to each a present of more or less value, according to the degree of friendship which subsisted between us. They endeavoured to accept them unobserved by each other, and concealed whatever we gave them in

their loose sleeves, which occasionally answer the purpose of pockets. If we offered them any thing of a large size, they declined accepting it; but they received books, maps, and copper-plate prints, without the least reserve. We gave them an atlas of Captain Krusentern, several maps from the atlas of La Perouse, some books and various other charts. The prints they accepted of, but returned the frames and glasses. Mr. Rikord gave them engraved portraits of Count Kamensky, the Prince Bagration, and a drawing of Prince Kutusoff, beautifully executed in crayons, by a son of the Governor of Irkutzk. When we related to the Japanese the achievements of Prince Kutusoff, they received his portrait, with enthusiasm and gratitude; we could not, however, prevail upon them to take the frame and glass, though we represented to them that the former was merely a piece of gilt wood, of little or no value. We observed that the portrait of Kutusoff might be injured without a glass; but they replied, that they would adopt measures for preserving the gem when they went ashore.

Whilst the Japanese officers were entertained in the cabin, the deck of the *Diana* was covered with visitors. Soldiers, and even females, had come on board to see the interior of the ship, and when the officers departed, they all descended into the cabin. We readily granted them the satisfaction of viewing the curiosities and ornaments of the cabin, which Captain Rikord had fitted up in a

very tasteful style. As tokens of remembrance, Captain Rikord gave to each of the Japanese a piece of fine red cloth for making a tobacco-bag, and two pieces of cut glass belonging to a chandelier. They regarded the latter as great curiosities. To the children we gave pieces of sugar; but these little presents were immediately taken possession of by their parents, and carefully wrapped up in pieces of cloth. Our guests remained with us till evening, when, for the first time, we enjoyed tranquillity, and an opportunity of conversing together respecting our native country, and the adventures which we had encountered.

On the following day, the 8th of October, we opened, out of curiosity, a box which had been sent on board in one of the boats; to our great astonishment this box contained every article belonging to us, such as clothes, linen, money, &c. in short every thing down to the last piece of rag. On every article was marked the name of the individual to whom it belonged. Among the things which Captain Rikord sent on shore at Kunashier was a razor-case, containing a looking-glass, an article, the manufacture of which is totally unknown to the Japanese. On its removal from Kunashier to Chakodade the looking-glass had accidentally been broken, and we now found the pieces collected in a box, with a note, apologizing for the accident, which, it was observed, had

arisen in consequence of the Japanese not knowing how to convey so brittle an article. *

Tachatay-Kachi was this day our first visitor. He informed us that our request to have a formal audience of the Bunyo † for the purpose of thanking him in person, was not approved by the Japanese officers. He, therefore, advised us to set sail without delay; adding, that the ship would be furnished with a supply of water. Several boats soon after came alongside for our water-casks, which were speedily filled, and sent on board.

On the following day, every thing was in readiness for our departure, but the wind proved unfavourable. On the 10th of October we unmoored, and proceeded to work out of the bay. Teske, Kumaddschero, and Tachatay-Kachi, accompanied us in boats destined to give us assistance, if necessary. The shore was crowded with spectators to witness our departure. When we had completely left the harbour, our Japanese friends warmly repeated their wishes for our safe return home, and took their last farewell. With considerable difficulty we prevailed on them

* The Japanese have no looking-glasses. Their metal mirrors are, however, so exquisitely polished that they are scarcely inferior to ours of the finest glass.

† Captain Rikord had never seen the Bunyo, though the latter saw him during our conference on the shore, where he sat incognito behind a screen, in the custom house.

to accept a few presents: they assured us that we had already given them more than enough. As they left the ship, our repeated adieus were accompanied by ardent wishes that a friendly alliance might speedily be established between Russia and Japan. We separated with reciprocal cheers, and the Japanese continued their salutes as long as we remained within sight of each other; but our sails were soon filled by a brisk and favourable breeze, and the *Diana* rapidly removed us from a land in which we had endured much suffering, but had also experienced the generosity of a pacific people, whom some Europeans, perhaps less civilized, regard as barbarians.

And here I must take the liberty of offering a remark on the opinion of those who attribute our liberation and the ultimate good conduct of the Japanese to the cowardice of that people, and their dread of the vengeance of Russia; for my own part, I am persuaded that, generally speaking, they acted from feelings of humanity, not merely because I am always inclined to regard good effects as springing from good causes, but because I can support my assertion by proof. Had fear operated on the minds of the Japanese, they would, at an earlier period, have come to a reconciliation with us. But, on the contrary, they had determined to resort to force, and had ordered Captain Rikord to be informed that we were dead at a time when they were using every precaution for the

preservation of our health. Fear might, indeed, be supposed to have had some effect upon them, were the eastern provinces of Russia in a state corresponding with those of the west. But the Japanese were well aware of the very important difference between the two divisions of our empire. In my narrative, however, the motives and the proceedings of both parties are presented to the consideration of the reader, who is thus afforded an opportunity of forming a judgment for himself.

The only circumstance worthy of observation, which occurred during our voyage from Chakodade to the harbour of Petropaulowska, was a storm of extraordinary violence which we encountered one night off the eastern coast of the island of Matsmai. It even exceeded in fury and danger the most dreadful tempest I ever experienced, either in the autumn off Cape Horn, or during the winter in my voyage from the Cape of Good Hope to New Holland. It would be superfluous to particularize all the precautions which we found it necessary to adopt, in order to save the ship, for they included all that may be found minutely described in any book of voyages to which the reader may resort for an account of a storm.

We cast anchor in Awatscha Bay on the 3d of November; though, at that season scarcely habitable, Kamtschatka, with its snow-topt mountains, volcanos and impenetrable forests, seemed a para-

dise, for it was a portion of our dear native land. The individuals who first came to meet us were Lieutenant Jakuschkin, who had served with me on board the *Diana*, and Lieutenant Volkoff of the garrison artillery. On beholding me they were as much astonished as though I had risen from the dead. Lieutenants Narmanskoy and Poduschkin next came on board. In company with these officers I went on shore at Petropaulowska at ten in the evening.

I turn once more to my unhappy companion Mr. Moor, whose severe repentance had extinguished all recollection of his errors. The sad fate of that officer cannot fail to excite sympathy in every feeling heart, whilst at the same time, it will serve as a dreadful example of the consequences of similar misconduct.

When we embarked on board the *Diana*, at Chakodade, the officers eagerly thronged round us; Mr. Moor, however, stood motionless, and apparently insensible to all that was passing. We all resolved among ourselves never, in his presence, to converse on the affairs of Japan, or to mention any circumstance which might remind him of his former conduct. We made every possible endeavour to amuse his mind by discoursing on subjects relative to Russia, but all was in vain. He dressed himself in a way unbecoming his rank, and seldom spoke, even to the sailors, among whom he was principally to be found. When we remonstrated

with him on this mode of proceeding, he usually replied:—"I am unworthy to associate with gentlemen, it is even too much if the sailors condescend to keep company with me."—Even when we prevailed on him to come into the cabin, he remained buried in thought. For some days after we left Chakodade, he joined the rest of the officers at dinner, supper and tea, but this he soon discontinued, and confined himself entirely to his own cabin. Sometimes, after fasting for the space of three days, he would devour food in great quantities with the utmost voracity. It appeared as if he wished by this irregular mode of living to bring on himself some fatal disorder—such was his behaviour until we arrived at Kamtschatka.

Lieutenant Rudakoff, Mr. Moor's old shipmate and friend, was now Commandant of the harbour of Petropaulowska. He had a short time before married a beautiful and accomplished young lady,* and resided in a spacious house. We thought that if they could be prevailed on to receive Mr. Moor into their house that the society of a sensible and sprightly woman might have the effect of removing the despondency under which he laboured. We accordingly made the proposal to Mr. Rudakoff, and he readily acceded to it. But our hopes were quickly disappointed, for no difference whatever

* The niece of Major-General Petrowsky, formerly the Commandant of Kamtschatka.

was produced on Mr. Moor. He frequently withdrew to some retired place where he wept aloud and deprecated his unhappy fate. On one occasion he so greatly alarmed Madame Rudakoff, that she considered him a madman with whom it was unsafe to live under the same roof. We then removed him to the house of a priest with whom he had resided before our captivity.—Religion and spiritual discourse might indeed have had a beneficial effect upon Mr. Moor's mind, had the priest been possessed of any conversational talent: but, unfortunately, such was not the case with Father Alexander. He could celebrate Mass and repeat the Litany without blundering, but his dissertations on heaven and religion were not calculated to produce any deep impression on the mind of our unhappy friend.

After we were made prisoners in Kunashier, Mr. Moor's effects had been sold by auction and he was now entitled to the sum of 8000 rubles. We advised him to provide himself with new clothes and various other articles, but he replied that he neither wanted money or any thing else. His dress consisted of an old Kamtschatdale parki, made of rein-deer skin. He at length said that his conscience obliged him to address a report to me, in which he styled himself a traitor and an outcast, and declared that he felt himself called upon by all that he regarded as sacred to make this confession. This report was so unconnected and contained so

many extravagant expressions, that not a doubt could longer remain of Mr. Moor having lost his senses. I immediately wrote a letter of consolation to my unhappy companion, to assure him that his error was not so enormous as he himself accounted it; that we all wished to forget what was passed, and that, as he was young, he would have many opportunities of making amends for a fault into which he had been driven by despair; I added, that his future good conduct would not fail to remove all the remorse which agitated his mind. I requested that Lieutenant Rudakoff would be the bearer of this letter, and that he would use every endeavour to tranquillize his distressed friend. I afterwards visited him myself, accompanied by Captain Rikord, on which occasion we, in some measure, succeeded in cheering his spirits. He discoursed reasonably, thanked me for my letter, and observed that he was unworthy of so much kindness. He afterwards occasionally conversed with our officers, and devoted a portion of his money to the purchase of clothes. In the course of a few days he expressed a wish to take up his abode in a Kamtschatdale village, where he observed he could live more at his ease, as the sight of the Russians whom he daily met with in Petropaulowska constantly reminded him of his misconduct. It seemed advisable that, in this particular, he should follow his own inclination, and we hoped that time would heal the wounds which, in his present situation, every circumstance tended

to widen. Mr. Moor having obtained permission to remove, he began to make preparations for his departure, and purchased every thing which he thought would be necessary for his country life. The individuals whom, for his safety, it had been judged necessary to appoint as his guards, were as overjoyed as we, as they concluded that their duty of watching would, in a certain degree, be diminished.

Mr. Moor was exceedingly fond of shooting, and when he went abroad to enjoy that diversion, one of the guards was directed to carry his musket, and to hand it to him when he wished to fire, but never to leave him for a moment. One day, as he was out shooting on the shore of Awatscha-Bay, he desired the soldier, who accompanied him, to return home to dinner. "You need not fear," said he, laughing, "for if I wished to put an end to my life, I could do so at home with a knife or a sword." The soldier obeyed. As, however, Mr. Moor did not return at his usual time, the man went in search of him, and with horror beheld his bloody and lifeless corpse on the shore of the Bay. His clothes were hanging on a post, and the musket lay by his side with a stick on the cock. He had apparently fired it with his foot. His body was opened, and in the breast were found two pieces of lead, with which, instead of balls, he had loaded the musket. He had left on a table in his apartment, a paper containing the following

singular expression:—"That life had become insupportable to him, and that, at certain times, he could even fancy he had swallowed the sun."—It cannot be doubted that he was occasionally subject to fits of insanity, and that the fatal act was committed in one of these paroxysms.

This unfortunate officer terminated his life on the 22d of November, 1813, in the thirtieth year of his age. At our own expence we erected a monument over his grave, on which were inscribed the following lines:—

HERE REST THE ASHES OF

LIEUTENANT FEODOR MOOR,

WHO TERMINATED HIS CAREER IN THE HARBOUR OF PETROPAULOWSKA, ON THE 22D. OF NOVEMBER, 1813,

IN THE FLOWER OF HIS AGE.

IN JAPAN

HE WAS ABANDONED BY THE PROTECTING-SPIRIT, WHICH HAD HITHERTO BEEN HIS GUIDE.

DESPAIR

PRECIPITATED HIM INTO ERROR;

BUT HIS FAULTS WERE EXPIATED BY BITTER REPENTANCE AND DEATH.

FROM THE FEELING HEART

HIS FATE CLAIMS

A TEAR!

TO HIS MEMORY

THE OFFICERS OF THE *DIANA* DEDICATE

THIS MONUMENT.

Mr. Moor was an officer of great merit and accomplishments. In addition to the knowledge requisite for his profession, he was conversant with several languages, and was an admirable draftsman. He loved the service to which he had devoted his life, and was zealous and indefatigable in the discharge of his duty. In company he was extremely entertaining. I had served on board the same ship with him for five years previous to the unfortunate catastrophe which befel us at Kunashier. Had not fate rendered me an eye witness of his faults, I never could have believed him capable of such a change as his conduct in Japan exhibited.

On the 2d of December Captain Rikord and I departed from Petropaulowska, drawn by dogs. The new year, 1814, commenced whilst we were in that extensive and uninhabitable steep, called the Parapolsk Valley, which comprehends a space of three hundred wersts, and where travellers so frequently fall victims to storms and drifts of snow. After surmounting many dangers we entered the town Inschiginsk, in the middle of February, where the public service required that we should part, and Captain Rikord, without hesitation, undertook the task of retracing his journey. I continued my progress, and reached Okotzk on the 11th of March, having travelled with dogs a distance of more than 3000 wersts. On quitting Okotzk, I first travelled with dogs, and afterwards with rein-deer or horses, and when at a distance of

200 wersts from Irkutzk I proceeded in post-kibitkes. I arrived at Irkutzk, by the winter-road, at the latter end of April. In the middle of May I left Irkutzk and reached St. Petersburgh on the 22d of July.* Soon after my arrival, I learned that his Imperial Majesty had promoted me to the rank of Captain of the second guard. I felt this unexpected favour the more, as I had, about three years before, been invested with the order of St. Wladimir, on account of my successful voyage from Cronstadt to Kamtschatka, and the attention I had devoted to the health of the crew placed under my command.

His Imperial Majesty afterwards rewarded the officers of the *Diana* in the following manner: to me and Captain Rikord (who had likewise been appointed a Captain of the second rank) he granted an annual pension of 1500 rubles each, and gave orders that our narratives should be printed at the expence of the government. Lieutenants Jakuschkin and Filatoff were each invested with the Order of St. Wladimir of the fourth class. Mr. Chlebnikoff, who was a pilot of the ninth class, Messrs. Nowitzky and Sredney, pilots of the twelfth class, and Mr. Popyrin, the master at arms, received pensions to the amount of their full yearly pay; to Mr. Saweljeff, the clerk of the fourteenth class, was granted a pension; to the commissary's assistant,

* I left St. Petersburgh on the 22d of July, 1807, and by a singular accident, after an absence of seven years, I arrived in that city on the same day of the month, and at the same hour.

Natschpinsky, the rank of the twelfth class; to the master's mate, Labutin, the rank of the fourteenth class; to the inferior officers, pensions amounting to a full year's pay; and to the inferior officers, who had been drafted from Okotzk, a gratuity of one year's pay. The sailors, who had been prisoners in Japan, received permission to retire from the service, and were allowed annual pensions amounting to their full yearly pay. The Kurile, Alexei, as a reward for his good conduct, was presented with a hanger, and received, instead of a pension, twenty pounds of powder, and forty pounds of shot.

CONCLUSION OF CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN'S NARRATIVE.

ACCOUNT OF VOYAGES,

IN THE

YEARS 1812 AND 1813,

TO THE COASTS OF JAPAN;

AND OF

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE JAPANESE,

FOR THE RELEASE OF

CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN AND HIS COMPANIONS.

By P. RIKORD,

CAPTAIN IN THE IMPERIAL RUSSIAN NAVY.

ACCOUNT

OF

VOYAGES TO JAPAN, &c.

It was on the 11th of July, in the year 1811, at eleven o'clock, *a. m.* and also in the eleventh month of the year—reckoning its commencement, according to ancient custom, from September—that the melancholy event occurred, which has long been a source of painful recollections to all who then served on board the sloop *Diana*, and which will never be erased from their memory.

With the circumstances of the unexpected misfortune, which, on that day, befel Captain Golownin, the reader is already acquainted. That extraordinary affair filled us with anxiety and dismay, and annihilated the hope of a speedy return to our country, with which we had flattered ourselves on leaving Kamschatka, to survey the Kurile Islands: for as fate had, by that severe stroke, separated us in so cruel a manner, from our worthy and beloved chief, who had been for five years our constant companion in danger, we thought no longer of returning to our relatives and friends.

Impressed with this feeling, and relying on the protection of the Almighty, the officers and seamen of the *Diana* unanimously resolved not to leave the coasts of Japan, until they had made every possible effort to deliver their comrades, if they still lived; or, if not, to avenge the death, which it was sometimes feared they had suffered.

We had followed Captain Golownin and his escort, with our telescopes, from the ship to the gates of the fortress. We observed, that they were conducted thither by a great number of men, whom, from their brilliant and variously coloured dresses, we supposed to be Japanese officers of distinction. Implicitly following Captain Golownin's arrangements, I entertained not the slightest suspicion of treachery on the part of the Japanese; indeed, so blindly did I rely on their sincerity, that I even made festive preparations for the reception of strangers of consideration, as I thought it probable that our Captain might invite some of the Japanese officers to come on board with him. Towards noon, while these preparations were still in progress, we suddenly heard on shore the report of muskets and frightful screams; we saw a multitude of people rush out of the gates of the fortress, and run towards the boat in which Captain Golownin had landed. We could clearly distinguish, by our telescopes, that these people hastened forward without any order, and that they took possession of the mast, the sail, the rudder, and all the

rigging of the boat. We could also perceive them dragging one of the boat's crew and the Kurile, into the fortress, through the gates, which were then shut upon them. Immediately a profound stillness prevailed; the whole of the buildings, down nearly to the water's edge, were hung with stripped cotton cloth, so that we were prevented from seeing what passed behind this curtain, and no one appeared in front of it. We were tortured by the dreadful uncertainty in which we were suspended respecting the fate of our comrades. By placing himself in our situation, the reader will be better able to conceive our feelings, than I am to express them: and if he be acquainted with the Japanese history, he will readily anticipate what we had to expect from the vindictive character of that people.

Without a moment's delay, I gave orders for weighing anchor, and stood in towards the town, expecting that the Japanese, on perceiving a sloop of war so near them, would, perhaps, abandon their intention; enter into negotiations and deliver up our friends. But as the depth of the water suddenly diminished to two fathoms and a half, we were compelled to cast anchor at a tolerable distance from the land, near enough, indeed, to make our shot reach the works, but too far off to permit us to do them any serious injury. Whilst we were preparing for action, the Japanese opened their batteries on the heights, but their shot passed over us. The honour of my country and our flag

which, though respected by all civilized powers, was thus grossly insulted, determined me to fire upon the place. We fired about one hundred and seventy guns, and observed that our shot reached the batteries, but without producing any important effect, as the whole works towards the sea were surrounded by a very thick earthen wall. We experienced, however, as little inconvenience from the enemy's fire. Considering it, therefore, unnecessary to remain longer in this situation, we ceased firing, and weighed anchor. The Japanese then became bolder, and fired away more spiritedly, in proportion as we receded from the town. As I had not a sufficient number of men to venture a landing, I could undertake nothing decisive for the deliverance of our companions. We were only fifty-one men, including officers; we had lost our beloved and honoured captain, who, in traversing the ocean, had watched over us with an anxious care, under many different climates; and treachery had snatched some of our bravest companions from among us, who had, probably, experienced the most cruel of deaths:—these reflections exasperated the whole crew in the highest degree. They all desired to avenge the perfidy of the Japanese, and were all ready to storm the fortress, and execute a dreadful retaliation, though at the risk of all their lives. With such men, animated with such feelings, it would not have been difficult to have made the

enemy experience serious consequences from their conduct; but the ship must have been left unprotected, and might have been easily set on fire, and then the bad or good success of our attempt could not be known in Russia, and all the observations, which we had collected during our voyage in the Kurile Islands, would have been lost. We, therefore, cast anchor without the range of the guns of the fortress, and determined on writing to our captain. In our letter we expressed our grief for his loss, and our indignation at the conduct of the commander of Kunashier, whose aggression was a direct infringement of the laws of nations. We informed him that we would return immediately to Okotzk, to make known what had happened, but that we were at the same time all prepared to risk our lives for his deliverance. All the officers signed this letter, and it was deposited in the cask which had been placed near the harbour. Towards evening we moved farther from the shore, and held ourselves in readiness the whole of the night, in case of an attack from the enemy.

Next morning we perceived by our telescopes that the Japanese were removing their property of every kind on packhorses, probably from an idea that we intended to set fire to the town. At eight o'clock in the morning, as senior officer, I assumed, though with the most painful feelings, the command of the ship, and requested all the officers

to state in writing what they considered the best means to which we could resort for the deliverance of our countrymen. They all concurred in opinion that it would be advisable to discontinue hostilities, which could have no useful result, but might render the fate of the prisoners worse, or perhaps, occasion the sacrifice of their lives, if the enemy were otherwise inclined to preserve them; and that it would be advisable to return to Okotzk, and to obtain from our Government, sufficient means either for delivering our unfortunate comrades, or for avenging their death.

When it was daylight, I sent the second pilot, Srednago, in a boat to the cask, for the purpose of seeing whether the letter we had placed in it the day before was removed; but before he reached the cask, he heard drums beating within the fortress, and returned for fear of being taken by the Japanese *baidars*. In fact, we soon perceived a *baidar* put off from the shore, and at a short distance from it throw out a new cask with a black pennant. We weighed anchor, stood into the harbour and manned a boat for the purpose of examining whether the cask contained a letter or anything by which we might obtain some idea of the fate that had befallen our companions. We ascertained, however, that the cask was attached to a rope, the other end of which extended to the shore, and by which it was imperceptibly drawn back, with the view of enticing our boat nearer the land and

thus getting possession of her. We once more cast anchor, and were again plunged into all the torments of incertitude. Had our comrades fallen victims to the sanguinary spirit of Asiatic vengeance? Or, had the boasted prudence of the Japanese restrained them from sacrificing seven helpless prisoners?—The only thing left for us now to do was to make it appear that we did not doubt the existence of our unfortunate companions, and that we considered the Japanese incapable of acting towards prisoners in a manner inconsistent with the practice of civilized powers. With this view I dispatched Midshipman Filatoff in a boat to the promontory, with the linen, the razors, and some books, belonging to the officers, all well packed up, also the clothes of the sailors, each packet having a particular superscription, with orders to leave these things in one of the deserted villages.

On the 14th with painful feelings we left this bay, which the officers of the *Diana* appropriately named the BAY OF DECEIT, and steered direct to Okotzk, almost always surrounded by a thick fog. This, however, was the only unpleasant circumstance of which we had to complain during our voyage, as the wind was favourable and moderate; but the storm in my soul raged with unbounded fury while we were becalmed a whole day in sight of the detested Island of Kunashier.

A feeble ray of hope, however, sometimes flattered me that I was not for ever separated from my

friends. From morning to night I observed the coast through a telescope, in the expectation of perceiving at least one who might have made his escape in a boat; but when we reached the Eastern Ocean, where the fog scarcely permitted us to see a few fathoms around us, the most gloomy reflexions tormented me, and allowed me no repose either day or night. I inhabited the same cabin which I had for five years shared with my friend Golownin, and in which most of the things remained as he left them on that unfortunate day; this tended constantly to remind me of his presence. The officers, on coming to me with reports, frequently addressed me from habit in his name, and, whenever this mistake occurred, the tears started into our eyes. How often had I here conversed with him on the possibility of reestablishing that good understanding with the Japanese which had been interrupted by the culpable actions of some imprudent men. How delighted were we at the idea of thus being serviceable to our country!—and now!—Golownin, with two distinguished officers and four sailors, were snatched from among us by people who were notorious in Europe for their cruel persecution of Christians,—while their fate was to us wrapt in impenetrable obscurity!

On the 16th day of a fortunate voyage, the town of Okotzk began to rise to our view from the sea. The new church was particularly distinguishable and attractive to us, who had for a long time

been deprived of the consolation of seeing a church. The sight of a Christian building is at all times enlivening to the eyes of a sailor; but how much more so to those who are struggling with misfortune. Favourable ideas of the inhabitants of the new landing place are awakened by it. Here the view is the more remarkable as the low promontory, or rather the sandbank on which Okotzk is built, is not descried in approaching it from the sea, until the whole town is seen at once.

In order to lose no time I ordered a signal to be made by hoisting a flag, and firing a gun, and we lay-to for a pilot. The commandant of the port soon sent out Lieutenant Schachoff, with instructions to conduct us to the best anchoring ground. I immediately reported to the commandant of the port, Capt. Minitzky, the misfortune which had befallen Golownin, who was bound to him as well as to me by the ties of friendship, ever since we had served together in the English fleet. Minitzky participated most sincerely in our feelings, and to his prudent advice, and active co-operation in all that depended on him, I am indebted for much consolation. Indeed, had it not been for him, the highest authorities might, from the unstudied manner in which I had drawn up my report, have concluded that I had not made every possible effort which duty required for the delivery of Golownin.

As my stay in Okotzk during the winter could be of no advantage to the public service, I pro-

ceeded in September, with the consent of Captain Minitzky, to Irkutzk, with the intention of going to Petersburgh, in order to inform the Minister of Marine circumstantially of every particular that had occurred, and to receive his orders respecting a fresh voyage to the Japanese coasts for the liberation of our countrymen.

Thus terminated a voyage, which had cost us many sacrifices, and which we had undertaken under the consoling persuasion, that after fulfilling the orders of our Government, and collecting information respecting remote countries, we should return again into the bosom of our families; but the hard fate which had befallen our companions annihilated this hope.

It was necessary that I should accomplish the journey to Petersburgh, and back again to Okotzk, in the course of the same winter. I could not, therefore, wait to go by the sledge-road from Jakutzk, where I arrived about the end of September, but was obliged to proceed on horseback to Irkutzk, which journey I completed in fifty-six days. I rode the whole of the distance, which is three thousand wersts. I must observe, that this single journey by land was more fatiguing to me than all my sea voyages. To a sailor, who has only been accustomed to the motion of the waves, the vertical jolting of a horse is a real torment. In order to gain time, I sometimes ventured to ride, in twenty-four hours, two long stages, each of forty-five wersts; but I

felt afterwards as if I had been broken on a wheel, and even my jaws refused to perform their usual office. Besides, the autumn road, from Jakutzk to Irkutzk, which is travelled on horseback only, is very dangerous, as it consists chiefly of narrow paths, passing along steep declivities that form the banks of the Lena. In many places the stream were vaulted over with pieces of ice, called by the inhabitants *nakips*;* and, as the Jakutzkan horses are in general unshod, they often fall on the ice. Once, as I was riding tolerably fast, without perceiving a dangerous nakip of this kind, I fell, too suddenly to extricate my foot from the stirrup, and rolling down the precipice along with my horse, paid for my carelessness by a sprained ancle, and have reason to thank God that I escaped without breaking my neck. I would, therefore, advise those who have to travel such roads, not to allow themselves to be occupied in thought, as the horses have a bad habit of climbing up the precipices, and when they meet with a nakip on an abrupt declivity, the fall of the rider is almost inevitable.

In Irkutzk I was very kindly received by the Civil Governor, Treskin, to whom I was obliged to apply, in the absence of the Governor-General of Siberia. He had already received my account from the Commandant of Okotzk, and had long since forwarded

* This word signifies, properly, the stoney covering of incrusted bodies, or what is formed by the sediment in vessels.

it to the superior authorities in Petersburgh, accompanied with a request that a new expedition should be dispatched to the Japanese coasts, for the liberation of the prisoners. This was, to me, an unexpected but very gratifying circumstance (since it was solely on that account that I had undertaken the dangerous journey from Okotzk to Petersburgh) and induced me, with the approbation of the Governor, to await in Irkutzk the final decision on the subject. Governor Treskin displayed great sorrow for Golownin's misfortune, and assisted me in drawing up the plan of the expedition, which was immediately forwarded to the Governor-General Pestel for his inspection. However, amidst the pressure of political affairs at that period, the sanction of the Emperor could not be obtained, and I was ordered to return to Okotzk; and, with the permission of the proper authorities, to proceed to complete our still unfinished survey, in the sloop *Diana*, and also to visit the Island of Kunashier, in order to ascertain what had been the fate of our companions.

During the winter, the Japanese, Leonsaimo, with whom the reader has already become acquainted, through Captain Golownin's Narrative, was, by the express command of the Civil Governor, brought to Irkutzk, where he experienced a very good reception. Great pains were taken to convince him of the amicable intentions of our Government towards his, in which, as he understood Russian tolerably well, we apparently succeeded, and

he assured us that the Russians would be taken care of in Japan, and that the investigation of their case would soon be brought by his Government to a happy conclusion. In company with this Japanese I returned to Okotzk, not as before on horseback, but travelling in a convenient winter-carriage along the frozen Lena, as far as Jakutzk, from which we took our departure at the end of March.

At this season of the year the blossoms of spring begin to appear in countries which are blessed with the smiles of nature; but here, so severe a winter prevailed, that pieces of ice still served the poor inhabitants, instead of panes of glass, for their windows, and were not yet exchanged, as happens when the thaw sets in, for Muscovy glass; the road to Okotzk was also so deeply covered with snow as to be rendered impassable to horses. Neither I, nor my Japanese companion, had patience to wait till the snow should melt; we, therefore, seated ourselves on rein-deers, and their masters, hardy Tongusians, were our conductors. I must do the justice to this beautiful and useful animal to say, that it is much more convenient for riding in these countries than a horse; for the rein-deer has an equal motion, does not plunge, and is so tame, that, in case of the rider falling, it remains as it were fixed to the spot. This we experienced frequently during the first days of our journey, as we had many falls, occasioned by the nature of the saddles, and the manner in which

they are placed. These saddles are very small and unsteady, owing to their having no stirrups, and being placed upon the shoulders of the animal, as the back of the rein-deer is too weak to bear any weight in the middle.

On my arrival in Okotzk, I found that the *Diana* had already received the most necessary supplies. It had, however, as yet been impossible to procure every thing requisite for fitting her out, in consequence of the great inconveniences which the river Ochota presents in many respects. But in spite of these obstacles we finally succeeded, through the activity of Captain Minitzky, in placing the ship in as good a state of equipment as could have been accomplished in the best Russian port. I, therefore, with pleasure, publicly return him the thanks to which he is justly entitled, for having so greatly contributed to the success of my voyage. To increase the number of the *Diana*'s crew, he gave me a non-commissioned officer and ten men of the Okotzk corps of marines, and to diminish the dangers of the voyage, he placed at my disposal an Okotzk transport brig, named the *Sotik*, to the command of which I appointed Lieutenant Filatoff, one of my officers. I likewise selected from the number of my officers, Lieutenant Jakuschkin, to command another transport, called the *Paul*, which was bound to Kamtschatka with provisions.

On the 18th of July, 1812, when every thing

was prepared for our departure, I received into the ship six Japanese, who had been shipwrecked on the coasts of Kamtschatka, and whom I wished to convey back to their country. Some circumstances attending the shipwreck of these men deserve to be mentioned. It happened during the same year in which our comrades were made prisoners on the Japanese coast; and, as Providence seemed to have purposely so ordained it, out of the whole crew there remained only a number equal to that of our countrymen in Japan. According to European views, it will, therefore, be supposed that an exchange might now easily have been made, but the sequel will show how different the Japanese laws are, in this respect, from ours.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, on the 22d of July, we set sail, in company with the *Sotik* brig. My intention was, to take the shortest course to Kunashier, by the Pikoff Channel, or, at least, by the Straits of Defries.

Nothing occurred on this voyage worthy of remark, excepting that we were at one time in very great danger. On the 27th of July, about midday, the clouded sky had so cleared up that we were enabled, with considerable accuracy, to determine our situation, which was found to be thirty-seven miles northward of the Island of St. John. This island was discovered by Billings, on a voyage, in the ship called *Russia's Glory*, from Okotzk to Kamtschatka. Its geographical situation, according

to astronomical observation, is very correctly determined by Captain Krusenstern. In general, all places, whose situations this able mariner has determined, may serve for the regulation of the chronometer, with as much accuracy as the Observatory at Greenwich. We, therefore, did not entertain the least doubt concerning our situation with respect to this island, particularly as we had, on the same day, taken the meridian altitude of the sun pretty correctly. We, therefore, determined to steer in such a direction as to pass the island at the distance of ten miles, and I made signal to the *Sotik* to keep within about half a mile astern of the *Diana*. I wished, if the weather should permit, to make observations on the Island of St. John, as it is very seldom seen either by the Company's ships or the Okotzk transports, in consequence of its lying out of the usual course from Okotzk to Kamtschatka.

On the 28th of July, at midnight, we had a breeze, accompanied by thick fog, through which, about two o'clock in the morning, we suddenly perceived a high rock straight ahead of the ship, and scarcely twenty fathoms distant. How dreadful was our situation. We were in the midst of the ocean, with a perpendicular rock so near, that we every moment expected the ship would be shattered to pieces—who could conceive our deliverance possible? Providence, however, preserved us. We instantly endeavoured to put about, and to check the rapid course of the vessel, in order that, if we

could not entirely avoid the danger, we might, at least, diminish the damage that must ensue from our coming in contact with the rock. We thus received only some slight shocks on the bows, and perceiving an open passage towards the south—for there were rocks on every side—we directed our course through it, and in this manner cleared the rock which had threatened us with destruction and others which we descried through the mist. After effecting this passage we followed the current, and succeeded in getting through another strait, formed by rocks of frightful magnitude. We now made sail, and distanced these threatening rocks. We had warned the *Sotik*, by a fog-signal, of the approaching danger, which she also happily avoided.

The fog dispersed about four o'clock, when we perceived the whole extent of the danger through which we had passed. The Island of St. John was scarcely to be seen for the rocks by which it was surrounded. It is about a mile in circumference, and has less the appearance of an island, than of a rock of a conical form projecting from the sea, and inaccessible on all sides. Near it, to the eastward, are four large rocks, but between which of them the current had conveyed us, we could not, in consequence of the thickness of the fog, ascertain. The terror which the view of these rocks now excited, was greater than that which we experienced on the preceding dreadful night; for we were then so eagerly employed in working the ship, that we

had no time to reflect on the death which seemed to await us. When, however, we passed the rock so near that we might have leaped upon it, and the sloop struck three times, every shock pierced my very soul. Our voices were so completely drowned by the noise of the waves dashing against the rock, that none of my orders could be heard. Despair rendered my heart torpid, and the last feeling that remained with me was regret at the idea that the six Japanese, on whom we had depended for the liberation of our comrades, were now destined to perish. Besides the Island St. John we also saw to our great joy, when the weather cleared up, our companion the *Sotik*, at a short distance from us. But the atmosphere soon became more foggy than ever, and prevented us from seeing farther around us than to the distance of a few fathoms.

Nothing remarkable happened after this; for contrary winds, and impediments of that kind, are ordinary difficulties in voyages. About three o'clock in the afternoon of the 12th of August, we saw the first land, which was the north end of the Island Ooroopa, but, owing to the fog, and unfavourable wind, we could not pass Defries Straits until the 15th of August; and the same obstacles detained us thirteen days on the coasts of Eetooroopa, Tshikotana and Kunashier, so that we did not arrive in the roadstead, which we had the year before named the *Bay of Deceit*, until the 28th of August.

As we passed, at gun-shot distance, the works for the defence of the harbour, we observed that a new battery of fourteen cannons was erected in two tiers, one above the other. As soon as we appeared in the bay, the Japanese concealed themselves; they did not fire, nor could we perceive any movement whatever in the place. The whole of the buildings towards the shore were hung with striped cotton cloth, so that we could only see the roofs of the large barracks. All their boats were drawn on shore. From their not firing, we began to hope that the Japanese now entertained a more favourable opinion of us than before, and we cast anchor at two miles from the works.

It has been already mentioned, that the native of Japan, called Leonsaimo, whom we had with us, understood something of the Russian language. He had been carried away six years before by Lieutenant Chwostoff. With his assistance, we proposed to draw up a short letter to the Governor of the island, consisting of an extract from a memorandum which the Civil Governor of Irkutzk had written. It stated the reason which had induced our Government to send the *Diana* to the Japanese coasts, and after describing the treachery practised against Capt. Golownin, concluded in the following terms: "Notwithstanding these unexpected hostile pro-"ceedings, we are bound to fulfil the commands "of our Monarch, and to bring back all the Japa-"nese who have suffered shipwreck on the coasts

" of Kamtschatka; whereby it will be evident that " we do not entertain any kind of hostile intention, " and we persuade ourselves that the Russian pri- " soners will also be restored to us, as innocent per- " sons, who have done injury to no one. But if, con- " trary to our expectations, such liberation cannot " take place, in consequence of its being necessary " to await the decision of the Japanese Govern- " ment, or, on account of other circumstances, we " will return next year with the same request."

In the translation of this letter, Leonsaimo, in whom we had placed all our hopes, betrayed an evident design to practise some deception. A few days before our arrival in Kunashier, I had requested him to set about the translation, but he constantly pretended the letter was too diffuse, he could not translate it. " I translate:" said he, in his broken Russian, " I translate what you say, and " will write short letter. With us letter must not " be long, we do not love the compliment, but " the thing;—Chinese write so to us and lose all " the sense." In consequence of this Japanese maxim, I was obliged to let him have his way.

On the day of our arrival at Kunashier, I called him into the cabin and requested the letter. He gave it to me on half a sheet of paper, which was entirely written over. As in his hieroglyphic mode of writing, a single character sometimes expressed a sentence, the half sheet probably contained a very circumstantial description of all that he considered

necessary to communicate to his government, but which might prove very disadvantageous to the settlement of our business. I told him that the letter appeared much too long for my object, and that he had, without doubt, introduced a great deal which related solely to his own affairs. I requested him, if he had no objection, to read it to me in Russian. He did not seem in the least offended at this request, but told me that the paper contained in fact three letters; the first, which was short, explained our business; the second contained an account of the shipwreck of the Japanese; and the third gave a description of the misfortunes he had himself experienced in Russia. I told him that it was only necessary at present to send the first letter, and that the others must be deferred until another opportunity; but if he was desirous that they should be all sent together, that he must give me a copy of them. He immediately copied the first without hesitation, but stopped at the others, saying they were too difficult. "How can they be too difficult," said I, "since you wrote them yourself?" he answered me angrily, "I will sooner destroy them." He immediately took up a penknife, cut off the part of the paper on which they were written, put it in his mouth, and after chewing it with a cunning and spiteful expression of countenance, in a few moments swallowed it in my presence. The contents of the paper thus remained to us a mystery; but what we had, above all, to regret was that we had

to rely on this malignant and artful wretch!—I now wished to ascertain whether he had actually spoken of our business on the remaining piece of paper. During our voyage, I had frequently conversed with him on many circumstances respecting Japan, and had noted down the Japanese of a great number of Russian words; I had also out of mere curiosity made him try to pronounce and write several Russian family names, and of course, that of my unfortunate friend Wassili Michailowitsch Golownin, which was always present to my memory, was not omitted. I now requested him to shew me the place in the letter where this name stood. He did so, I compared the characters with those I already possessed, and thus convinced myself that the letter really treated of Golownin. I now commissioned one of our Japanese to deliver the letter, in person, to the governor of the island. We put him ashore, opposite our anchoring-place. He was immediately surrounded by hairy Kuriles, who had probably concealed themselves under the thick high grass, in order to watch our motions. He accompanied them to the fortress, and scarcely had he approached the gate when the batteries began to fire upon the bay. These were the first shots discharged since our arrival. I asked Leonsaimo, why they fired, when they saw that only a single man from the Russian ship was, in confidence, approaching the town? He answered: "In Japan it is so, such law; they do not kill man but shoot." This un-

expected proceeding on the part of the Japanese annihilated every hope I had formed of being able to negociate with them. At first, when we approached the fortress, they did not fire; but they had now begun to fire upon our flag of truce in a manner which was not easy to explain, but which indicated nothing favourable. No movement was made on board the ship, and the boat which had conveyed the Japanese on shore, had returned and lay alongside. At the gate of the fortress he was surrounded by a multitude of people, and we soon lost sight of him. Three days passed away in vain expectation of his return.

During the whole of this time we were constantly occupied, from morning to night, in viewing the shore, through telescopes, so that not even the smallest objects from the place where the Japanese had landed to the fortress could escape our notice. We often imagined we saw him, and cried out with joy, "here comes our messenger!" The deceptions of this kind were, sometimes, of long duration, particularly after sun-set, and in foggy weather, when the refraction of the rays of light so wonderfully increased the size of objects, that we often mistook a crow, with extended wings, for a Japanese in his loose night-gown. Leonsaimo, himself, frequently stood several hours together with the telescope in his hand, and seemed much surprized that nobody came to us. The fortress remained as closely shut as a tomb.

On the approach of night we always prepared the ship for action, in case of attack. The deep silence which prevailed, was disturbed only by the echo of the watch-word of our sentinels, which resounded through the Bay, and informed our enemy that we were not slumbering. As we were in want of fresh water, I ordered a boat to put ashore, with armed men, for the purpose of filling our water casks, and a second Japanese was also, at the same time, dispatched on the same mission as the former, to explain to the Governor why the Russian ships had come to these coasts. I requested Leonsaimo to send with him a short note ; but he declined, saying, " As no answer is made to the " first letter, I fear to write again in contradiction " to our laws." He, however, advised me to draw up a memorandum in the Russian language, which the Japanese who bore it might translate. I did so. In the coure of a few hours this second messenger returned, saying, that he had been admitted to the Governor, and had presented the paper I had written ; which, however he would not receive. He then told the Governor that the Russians had sent some men on shore to get water. " Very well." answered he, " let them take water, and as for you, go back where you came from." He said no more, and departed. Our Japanese had spent some time among a number of hairy Kuriles ; but, as he did not understand their language, he could learn nothing from them. He

told us that the Japanese remained at a distance, and did not venture to approach him; and that, finally, the Kuriles had turned him out of the gate of the fortress by force. The honest fellow told me that he wished to have remained on land, and that he had begged the Governor, with tears in his eyes, to allow him to stay at least for one night; but was refused. We, therefore, concluded that our first messenger had met with the same reception, and that, from the fear of experiencing no better treatment from us, in consequence of his bringing no news of our comrades, he had concealed himself among the hills, or had, perhaps, gone to some other town on the island. I wished, on a subsequent day, to provide myself with more water, and for that purpose sent the remaining empty casks on shore, about four o'clock in the afternoon. The Japanese, who attentively watched all our motions, began to fire at random, though our boats were already near the shore. In order to avoid the least motive for hostilities I recalled the boats, by a signal, which being observed by the Japanese, the firing immediately ceased.

We had now been seven days in the Bay of *Deceit*, and it was but too evident that a decided distrust of our intentions prevailed, for the Commandant, either from reluctance on his own part, or by order of his Government, refused to hold any communication with us. How then could we hope to hear any tidings of our comrades?

We recollected that we had, in the preceding year, left several articles belonging to our unhappy friends, in a fishing village, and we wished to ascertain whether they had been carried away. I accordingly directed Lieutenant Filatoff, who commanded the brig, to land and visit the village, accompanied by a party of armed men. As the brig approached the shore, a firing commenced from the batteries, which, however, owing to the great distance, proved ineffectual. After a few hours had elapsed, Mr. Filatoff sent to inform me, that the house in the fishing village, where the articles had been deposited, was quite empty. This seemed a favourable omen, and we were revived by the hope, that our comrades were still in existence. On the following day I again sent the same Japanese ashore, to inform the Commandant why a landing had been made by the brig. With considerable difficulty I prevailed on Leonsaimo, to translate into the Japanese language a short note, in which I requested that the Governor would grant me an interview. I wished likewise to state my reason for sending the brig to the fishing village, but the obstinate Leonsaimo refused to make this explanation. The Japanese returned at an early hour on the following morning. The Governor had received the letter, but instead of returning a written answer, he merely said: "Well, well, the Russian Captain "may hold an interview with me in the city." This amounted to a decided refusal; at least, it

would have been absurd in me to have accepted the invitation. On being informed of our reason for landing at the fishing-village, the Governor observed:—"What things? They were taken away immediately." This equivocal answer gave us once more reason to fear that our unfortunate friends were no longer in existence. Besides, our Japanese messenger was not suffered to pass the night in the city, and was obliged to lie down among the grass, near the shore, opposite to the *Diana*. To carry on any further correspondence, by means of Japanese, who understood not a word of Russian, appeared perfectly useless. We had hitherto received no written answer to any of our letters, and we were, therefore, reduced to the alternative of again quitting the shores of Japan, harassed by the most tormenting uncertainty. Leonsaimo, indeed, understood Russian, but, as he was our only interpreter, we did not wish to dispatch him to the Commandant, except in a case of the most urgent necessity, lest he should be forcibly detained; or, on his own part, feel reluctant to return.

I, therefore, thought of another scheme. It appeared to me, that, without any violation of our pacific conduct towards the Japanese, we might stop one of the vessels which we had frequently observed sailing near us, and thus endeavour to communicate with some Japanese of distinction, from whom

we might obtain certain information respecting the fate of our comrades. In this way we expected to release ourselves from our difficulties, and to render unnecessary another voyage to Kunashier, from which we could hope for no better results than had already taken place. We anxiously watched for the space of three days, but no ship appeared within sight, and we concluded, that, as the autumn had set in, the Japanese had, for the meanwhile, suspended their navigation.

Our only hope rested now on Leonsaimo, but I wished, if possible, to ascertain his real sentiments before I should send him ashore, and, for this purpose told him, that, as I intended to put to sea on the following morning, it would be advisable for him to write a letter to his friends. On hearing this, his countenance suddenly changed, and with evident embarrassment he thanked me for the information, saying :—" Well, I will merely write to " tell them, that they never need expect to see me again." Then with the most violent agitation, he exclaimed :—" I will put an end to my days—will go no more to sea—must die among the Russians." To detain a man in such a state of mind could be of little use to us, and it was impossible not to recognise a just ground for the feeling he manifested, when the sufferings which he had endured, during his six years captivity in Russia, were considered. There was, indeed, reason to fear, that

as he was bereft of every hope of returning to his native country, he would not fail, in a fit of despair, to commit suicide; I accordingly resolved to employ him to lay our propositions once more before the Governor, and, if possible, to prevail on him to grant me an interview. On being made acquainted with my determination, he immediately swore, that if he were not forcibly detained he would return and bring me all the information he could collect. As there was at least a probability that the Japanese might not allow him to return, I thought it advisable to adopt the following precautions:—I directed that he should be accompanied by his countryman, who had already been sent on shore, and I provided Leonsaimo with three cards:—On the first of these cards were written the words —" Capt. Golownin, and the rest of the Russians, are in Kunashier;" on the second—" they have been removed to Matsmai, Nangasaky, or Yeddo;" and, on the third—" they are dead." It was agreed, that in case of Leonsaimó being detained, he should give one of these cards to the Japanese who accompanied him, cancelling or adding such words as the information he should obtain might require.

We landed them on the 4th of September, and, to our great joy, we saw them both quit the fortress on the following day. We immediately sent the boat on shore for them;—we were cheered by the hope of hearing some welcome tidings of our friends. Meanwhile we watched them closely

with our telescopes, and, to our astonishment, perceived that the other Japanese quitted Leonsaimo, and, turning in a lateral direction, concealed himself among the thick grass; Leonsaimo came on board the ship alone. On my inquiring where his companion was, he replied, that he knew nothing of him. With eager anxiety we all thronged to hear his message, but he requested to have an interview with me in the cabin. He then, in the presence of Lieutenant Rudakoff, stated all the difficulties he had experienced in gaining access to the Governor, who, without hearing a word he had to say, inquired "Why the Captain had not come on shore himself?" Leonsaimo replied, that he knew nothing of my reason for not doing so; but that the object of his errand was to learn what had become of Captain Golownin and the other Russian prisoners. Harassed between hope and fear, we waited to hear the answer of the Governor, but Leonsaimo wished first to be assured, that no harm would befall himself on disclosing the truth. I assured him that he had nothing to fear, and he at length pronounced the dreadful words:—"THEY ARE ALL DEAD!"

This information plunged us into the deepest affliction, and we could not, without horror, cast our eyes towards the shore where the blood of our friends had been shed. As I had received no instructions how to act in such a case, it appeared to me that I should be justified in taking vengeance

on the faithless Japanese, being well convinced that our Government would never suffer their atrocities to pass unpunished. I wished, however, to obtain more certain evidence than the mere words of Leonsaimo, and accordingly sent him once more to the fortress with orders to obtain from the commandant a written confirmation of his message. We, moreover, promised immediately to liberate him, and the other Japanese we still had on board, in case we should resolve to adopt hostile measures; at the same time I gave orders for preparing both vessels for action.

Leonsaimo was to have returned that day, but we saw nothing of him. The following day likewise elapsed, and he did not appear; the expectation of his return was, therefore, very uncertain; while, at the same time, his absence left still subject to a shade of doubt the sad tidings we had received. I, therefore, resolved not to quit the bay until we should fall in with a vessel, or some individual, from whom we could ascertain the truth.

On the morning of the 6th of September we descried a Japanese Baidare. I immediately dispatched Lieutenant Rudakoff to capture it; placing under his command Messrs. Srednago and Sawelieff, two officers who had both volunteered their services on this first hostile proceeding. Our boat quickly overtook the Baidare, and captured it near the land. The crew immediately jumped over-

board, and escaped; two Japanese, and a hairy Kurile were, however, found by Mr. Sawelieff concealed among the bushes on the shore, but from them we could obtain no information. When I began to interrogate them, they fell on their knees and answered every question with the hissing exclamation—*sche! sche!* No pains were spared to manifest kindness to them, but all our endeavours to extract information from them proved fruitless. Heavens! thought I, what method can now be devised to obtain an explanation from these unaccountable people!

On the following morning we saw a large Japanese ship steering towards the harbour, I immediately dispatched Lieutenant Rudakoff with express orders not to resort to violence, but merely to terrify the crew; and, when they surrendered, to conduct the captain to me. After a few hours had elapsed, during which no resistance appeared to be made, we observed that Lieutenant Filatoff had obtained possession of the sloop, and was towing her to our anchoring ground.

On his return, Lieutenant Filatoff reported to me as follows:—When our boats approached the Japanese ship, she seemed to have a great number of armed men on board; as she took no notice of being hailed, but continued her course, some shots were fired towards her, but in the air. The Japanese immediately slackened sail, and lay too; and as the ship was close in shore, several of the

crew jumped overboard, in the hope of saving themselves by swimming. Those who were near our boats were picked up, the rest either swam ashore or were drowned.

The whole crew of the Japanese vessel amounted to about sixty individuals, but only the captain was brought to me. His rich yellow dress, his sabre, and other circumstances indicated that he was a person of distinction. I immediately conducted him to the cabin. He saluted me according to the Japanese fashion, with demonstrations of high respect. I assured him that he had no cause for apprehension, and with great frankness of manner he seated himself on a chair in the cabin. I then interrogated him in the Japanese language, of which I had learned a little from Leonsaimo. He informed me that his name was TACHATY-KACHI, and that he enjoyed the rank of a *Sindofnamotsh*, a term which intimated that he was the commander and owner of several ships; ten, he stated, belonged entirely to himself. He had come from the island of Eetooroop, and was proceeding to the harbour of Chakodade in the Island of Matsmai, with a cargo of dried fish, but contrary winds had obliged him to put into the Bay of Kunashier.

In order to make him more readily acquainted with every thing relative to our proceedings, I shewed him the letter which Leonsaimo had written to the commandant of the island. Having read it,

he suddenly exclaimed, "Captain Moor and five "Russians are now in the city of Matsmai." He then informed me when they had been brought from Kunashier, through what towns they had been conveyed, and how long they had remained in each place; at the same time giving me a description of Mr. Moor's person. One circumstance alone tended to dispirit us: he did not mention a word of Captain Golownin. We reflected, that in his situation, he might naturally wish to persuade us that our countrymen were still living: yet, how could he invent so many circumstances in the space of a few minutes? On the other hand, we could in no way account for Leonsaimo's conduct. What could induce him to fabricate a tale so distressing to our feelings? Perhaps, revenge for the atrocities committed by Chwostoff, on the Japanese coasts? or, was he afraid of being detained on board the *Diana*, had he informed us that our comrades were still living? But might he not have sent back one of the cards, without returning himself? It was possible, after all, such a message had really been sent by the Governor of the island, in order that he might rid himself of all further trouble and fear might, on the second occasion, have prevented Leonsaimo from returning.

Although we were in a state of complete uncertainty, there seemed to be a probability that our comrades were still living, and I accordingly abandoned all thoughts of hostilities. Our seamen,

however, whose minds had been thrown into a state of fermentation by the distressing news, were not to be so easily calmed. Some of them declared to the officer of the watch, that they recognised in the commander of the Japanese ship, the same chief whom they had seen on the island of Eetooroop in the preceding summer, when we held our first conference with the Japanese. Messrs. Moor and Novitzky were present at this conference, and the latter likewise declared that he perceived a striking resemblance between our prisoner and the officer who was on that island; and, besides, recollected perfectly well that the Eetooroop chief had written down Mr. Moor's name. The seamen who, by my orders, had assembled on the main deck, then exclaimed: "It is not surprising that he should know Mr. "Moor's person; but he can give us no tidings of "our beloved Captain. Our comrades have cer- "tainly perished, and we are all ready to shed our "blood to avenge their treacherous murder." Although I secretly cherished the same feelings, I represented to them that the hope of our companions being still in existence, was revived; but that if, unfortunately, they should be dead, our Government would doubtless soon give us an opportunity of manifesting our zeal in avenging so foul a crime.

From that moment I relinquished every hostile demonstration, and resolved to convey Tachatay-Kachi to Kamschatka, hoping, that, in the course of the winter, we might, through his means, obtain

some positive information respecting the fate of our companions, and the views of the Japanese Government. He seemed to be far superior in rank to any of the Japanese with whom we had hitherto communicated, and we consequently supposed that he was better acquainted with the affairs of his country. We afterwards learnt that he was a very rich merchant; and that, being commander of his own ships, he enjoyed, according to the Japanese laws, privileges corresponding with those of an officer of state. We, therefore, called him NATSCHALNIK (commander or chief).

I informed him, that he must hold himself in readiness to accompany me to Russia, and explained the circumstances which compelled me to make such an arrangement. He understood me perfectly well, and when I proceeded to state my belief, that Captain Golownin, Mr. Moor, and the rest of the Russian prisoners, had been put to death, he suddenly interrupted me, exclaiming: "That is not "true! Captain Moor and five Russians are living "in Matsmai, where they are well treated, and en- "joy the freedom of walking about the city, ac- "companied by two officers." When I intimated, that we intended to take him with us, he replied, with astonishing coolness: "Well, well, I am "ready;" and merely requested, that, on our arrival in Russia, he might continue to live with me. This I promised he should do, and, likewise, that I would convey him back to Japan in the ensuing

year. He then seemed perfectly reconciled to his unlooked for destiny.

The four Japanese, who still remained on board the ship, understood not a word of Russian, and were, besides, so afflicted with the scurvy, that they would, in all probability, have perished, had they wintered in Kamtschatka. I, therefore, thought it advisable to set them at liberty, and having furnished them with every necessary, I ordered them to be put on shore, hoping that they would, in gratitude, give a good account of the Russians to their countrymen. In their stead, I determined to take four seamen from the Japanese vessel, who might be useful in attending on Tachatay-Kachi, to whom I left the choice of the individuals. But he earnestly intreated, that none of the seamen might be removed from his ship, observing, that they were extremely stupid, and that he feared they would die of grief, owing to the dread they entertained of the Russians. The earnestness of his solicitations on this subject, led me, in some measure, to doubt that our comrades were really living in Matsmai, and I repeated, in a decided manner, my determination to take four of the seamen on board the *Diana*. He then begged that I would accompany him to his ship. When we went on board, he assembled the whole of his crew in the cabin; and having seated himself cross-legged on a long cushion, which was placed on a fine mat, requested that I would take my place beside him. The sailors all knelt

down before us, and he delivered a long speech, in which he stated, that it would be necessary for some of them to accompany us to Russia.

Here a very affecting scene was exhibited. A number of the seamen approached him, with their heads bent downwards, and with great eagerness whispered something to him: their countenances were all bathed in tears. Even Tachatay-Kachi, who had hitherto evinced calmness and resolution, seemed now to be deeply distressed, and began to weep. I, for some time, hesitated to carry my resolution into effect, and was only induced to adhere to it, by the consideration that I would hereafter have the opportunity of interrogating each individual separately, and, probably, thereby ascertaining, whether or not our comrades really existed in Matsmai. I had, however, in other respects, no reason to repent of this determination; for the Natschalnik, who was a man of rank, and accustomed to live in a style of asiatic luxury, would have experienced serious inconvenience on board our vessel, without his Japanese attendants. Two of the seamen were always, by turns, near his person. As he knew the reasons which obliged me to convey him to Russia, and the message which Leonsaimo had received from the Commandant of the island, I begged that he would write to the latter a minute explanation of all that had taken place. He immediately drew up a letter, having previously inquired the name of our ship, at what

period we had set sail for Kunashier, who Leonsaimo was, &c.

Tachatay-Kachi, and the sailors he selected, soon behaved as though our ship had been their own; and we, on our side, employed every means to convince them, that we considered the Japanese, not as a hostile, but as a friendly-disposed nation, with whom our good understanding was only accidently interrupted. The same day we received on board, at my invitation, from the captured vessel, a Japanese lady, who had been the inseparable companion of Tachatay-Kachi, on his voyage from Chakodade, his place of residence, to Eetooroop. She was extremely desirous of seeing our ship, and the strange people and polite enemies, as she styled us, and to witness our friendly intercourse with her countrymen. A Japanese lady was also, to us, no slight object of curiosity. When she came on board she appeared very timid and embarrassed. I requested Tachatay-Kachi to conduct her into my cabin, and, as she advanced, I took her by the other hand. On reaching the cabin door she wished to take off her straw shoes, but as there were neither mats nor carpets in my cabin, I explained to her, by signs, that this singular mark of politeness might be dispensed with among us. On entering the cabin, she placed both hands on her head, with the palms outwards, and saluted us by bending her body very low. I conducted her to a chair, and Kachi requested her to sit down. Fortunately for

this unexpected visitor, there was, on board our vessel, a young and handsome woman, the wife of our surgeon's mate. The Japanese lady seemed highly pleased, on being introduced to her, and they quickly formed an intimacy. Our countrywoman endeavoured to entertain the foreigner with what the women of all countries delight in; she shewed her her trinkets. Our visitor behaved with all the ease of a woman of fashion; she examined the ornaments with great curiosity, and expressed her admiration by an agreeable smile. But the fair complexion of our countrywoman seemed most of all to attract her attention. She passed her hands over her face, as though she suspected it had been painted, and, with a smile, exclaimed "*yoee! yoee!*" which signifies *good*. I observed, that our visitor was somewhat vain of her new ornaments, and I held a looking-glass before her, that she might see how they became her. The Russian lady placed herself immediately behind her, in order to shew her the difference of their complexions. She immediately pushed the glass aside, and good humouredly said "*varee! varee!*" (not good). She herself might have been called handsome; her face was of the oval form, her features regular, and her little mouth, when open, disclosed a set of shining black lacquered teeth. Her black eye-brows, which had the appearance of having been penciled, overarched a pair of sparkling dark eyes, which were by no means deeply seated. Her hair was black,

and rolled up in the form of a turban, without any ornament, except a few small tortoise-shell combs. She was about the middle size, and elegantly formed. Her dress consisted of six wadded silk garments, similar to our night gowns; each fastened round the lower part of the waist by a separate band, and drawn close together from the girdle downwards. They were all of different colours, and the upper one was black. Her articulation was slow, and her voice soft. Her countenance was expressive and interesting, and she was altogether calculated to make a very agreeable impression. She could not be older than eighteen. We entertained her with fine green tea and sweetmeats, of which she eat and drank moderately. On her taking leave I made her some presents, with which she appeared to be very much pleased. I hinted to our countrywoman, that she should embrace her. When the Japanese observed what was intended, she ran into her arms, and kissed her with a smile. Finally, she was landed on Kunashier, by the same Baidare which carried Tachatay-Kachi's letter.

I now confidently expected that the Governor of the Island would send a written communication on board, if not to me, at least to Tachatai-Kachi, and also hoped that he would order Leonsaimo, whom Kachi had expressly mentioned, to return and serve as our interpreter; but, instead of receiving any answer, four guns were, a few days after, fired at our boats when they went on shore for

water. We could, therefore, only conclude that the Governor had received orders from his government to hold no communication with us. I despised this inefficient firing; and wishing to examine all my prisoners thoroughly, I determined not to engage in any rash enterprize which might injure our main object.

As the weather continued fine, I ordered the anchor to be weighed; but Tachatay-Kachi requested that I would previously allow the sailors of his vessel the gratification of viewing the *Diana*. They were accordingly conducted over the ship by turns, and were very curious to be made acquainted with the use of every thing that was new to them; they particularly admired the mechanism of our running rigging, the bold climbing of our sailors up the futtock shrouds, and the still more daring manner in which they ran from the tops out upon the yards, or ascended to the mast-head. I gave orders that they should be taken into my cabin, where they made the same demonstrations of respect as if I had been present. Some Russian brandy was presented to them in silver cups, the influence of which soon rendered them more lively and unreserved in their manners. They contrived to make themselves understood by our sailors, and seemed much pleased with our cloth dresses, shining buttons and coloured cravats, which they prevailed on the seamen to exchange for some of their Japanese trifles. Tachatay-Kachi

observed some empty casks on the deck, and proposed they should be sent on board his ship to be filled. His seamen immediately carried off all our empty casks, and brought them back filled with excellent fresh water. The good-natured Japanese then took leave of us, and returned to their vessel singing as they rowed back. We were much gratified at finding ourselves on so friendly a footing with men whom we had, a short time before, looked upon as our enemies.

In the evening we got under weigh, and immediately all the batteries opened their fire. It was probably suspected that we intended to approach the fortress with hostile intentions: but we were at so great a distance from the batteries that the manner in which the Japanese threw away their shot was to us truly laughable. Our guest likewise laughed, observing: "Kunashier is a bad place for the Russians; Nangasaky is better."

On the following day, adverse winds obliged us to cast anchor in the bay, at a distance of more than seven leagues from the town; we anxiously watched, with our telescopes, for the return of the Baidare which had been sent on shore. Kachi, however, assured us that the Baidare would not be allowed to come out while our vessel remained in sight of the island.

On the 11th of September we made sail, directing our course towards Kamtschatka. During our passage we encountered several violent storms,

which, towards this season of the year, are to be dreaded in all the seas under these latitudes. On the day of our departure, we were for the space of twelve hours in a state of peril, from which only the hand of Providence could have released us. Towards noon a smart gale arose, which soon increased to a violent hurricane. The low islands, between Matsmai and Tschikotana, lay to leeward. The *Diana* could work well to windward, but it appeared that there was a current which, in spite of all our efforts, carried us towards these islands. The sea was running so high that we could not hope to bring up: we were, therefore, driven from the open sea into the straits between Kunashier and Tschikotana, and were in the greatest danger of being wrecked. Every time the lead was cast we observed that we were drawing nearer to the dreadful islands. At half-past three in the morning we found the depth of water decrease, from eighteen to nineteen fathoms, and that we were driving, broadside to, upon an island. In this desperate situation we resorted to the last means by which we could hope to save ourselves. We threw out an anchor, but it would not hold, and the lead shewed that we were in two fathoms less of water, with a bottom of sand and gravel. We threw out another anchor; it dragged; and the ship lay almost on her beam ends with the waves breaking over her. At length, having got all our yards and top-masts down, the ship fortunately

righted and the anchor held. Thus were we, a second time, delivered from apparently inavoidable destruction.

As Tachatay-Kachi occupied the same cabin with me I had every opportunity of communicating with him. For a long time I strove in vain to collect from him some information respecting Golownin. He listened very attentively to the description I gave of his rank and name, and constantly repeated: "I know nothing of him." I was aware that our Russian family names must have a singular sound in the ear of a Japanese. I endeavoured to pronounce the name "Golownin" in all the different ways I could think of, and, at length, to my indescribable joy, Kachi exclaimed: "*Chowo-rin!* I have heard of him! he is, likewise, in Matsmai. The Japanese suppose him to be a Russian *Danmio*" (that is to say, an officer of the first rank). He then proceeded to inform me what he had heard respecting Captain Golownin from persons who had seen him: "He is," said he, "tall, of stately deportment, more reserved in his manners than Mr. Moor, and is not fond of smoking tobacco, though the Japanese have given him the best that can be procured. Mr. Moor, on the contrary, loves to smoke a pipe, and understands our language tolerably well."—This minute description banished all our doubts, and we thanked Providence for having sent us a guest capable of communicating such welcome intelli-

gence. I was now doubly overjoyed on reflecting that I had doubted the truth of the answer brought by Leonsaimo, and had not proceeded to hostilities as I at first intended. I learnt, from our prisoner, that he sailed every year from Niphon to Eetooroop, with goods of various kinds, and returned with cargoes of fish; but I was much astonished at his not knowing Leonsaimo. I suspected that I did not pronounce the name rightly, and shewed him my memorandum-book in which Leonsaimo had himself written his own name and that of his native city Matsmai. Kachi read the signature, and declared that no merchant of that name had ever lived at Eetooroop; he added, that he knew every one on the island, and even told me their names. I now repeated all the names which Leonsaimo had attributed to himself, viz.: *Nagatshema*, *Tomogero* and *Chorodsee*. On hearing the latter name, he laughed, and exclaimed with astonishment: "What Chorodsee! I know him! And so he has represented himself in Russia as an Oyagodo! (a Chief over the Kuriles.)" "Yes," answered I, "and he stated that he was a wealthy man."—"He never possessed a single baidare," replied Kachi, "he was a *banin* (an overseer of a fishery), and had also the charge of the correspondence as he was a good penman. He is not a native of Matsmai, but of the Principality of Nambu, and is married to the daughter of a hairy Kurile." Kachi uttered these last words with a con-

temptuous expression, and drew his hand across his throat, as if to signify that Leonsaimo would forfeit his head were it known, in Japan, that he assumed a rank to which he had no claim.

This unexpected discovery induced me to believe that the Japanese whom I had dispatched to the Governor of the Island, might have yielded to wicked instigations, or acted treacherously in order to gratify a base revenge. It, besides, appeared that I was wrong in attributing the escape of the Japanese, who had left Leonsaimo near the fortress, to the fear of coming back to us; for I learnt from Tachatay-Kachi that Japanese subjects who have lived more than one year in a foreign country, are, on their return home, prohibited from repairing, under any pretence, to their own families, but are sent to Yeddo to undergo an examination, where they are generally detained for the remainder of their lives, without the hope of ever seeing their friends again. Our Japanese had lived about a year in Kamtschatka, and consequently that circumstance accounted for their non-appearance.

On leaving the stormy coasts of Japan, we soon found ourselves among the Kurile islands, off *La Bussole* Straits, so named by the celebrated *La Perouse*. The weather was sufficiently clear to enable us to make astronomical observations. We purposely sailed through these wide straits into the sea of Okotzk, and observed the western coasts of

some of the islands, situated towards the north. We then passed into the eastern ocean, through an unexplored strait, between the islands of Roikoke and Matau. As this strait had, as yet, received no designation on any chart, I gave it the name of Golownin, as a mark of respect to our unfortunate Captain, who has contributed so much to give celebrity to the object of our voyages in these seas.

On the 22d of September we discovered the top of the extinguished volcano of Kamtschatka, which was covered with snow. The valleys were, however, beatifully verdant, and the temperature of the atmosphere was mild. Kachi observed, that in the course of his voyages to Eetooroop and Ooroop, in the same season of the year, he had seen more snow on the coasts of these islands, and had experienced a degree of cold far more severe. We approached the Bay of Awatscha with favourable winds, and hoped to enter the harbour of Petropaulowskoi on the following day. But the wind changed, and we were twice driven out to sea. On working up to it with great difficulty for the third time, we were again, during a dark night, in great danger of shipwreck. We entered the harbour on the 3d of October, where we found three ships, one laden with provisions, from Okotzk; and the other two, bearing the American flag, belonged to Mr. Dobell, a citizen of the United States. They had taken in their cargoes, partly in Canton and partly in Manilla. Mr. Dobell himself commanded

one of these vessels, and had formed an excellent plan for establishing commercial relations between Kamtschatka and China, or other neighbouring countries possessing valuable productions.

My first object was, to send our good Japanese on shore. He appeared extremely disconsolate, but this I attributed to the protracted hardships which he had endured on the voyage. His distress, however arose from a very different cause. Our friends came from the shore to congratulate us on our safe arrival, and Kachi now began to lament his fate. Judging from the laws of his own country, he supposed that he would be kept as close a prisoner as our comrades in Japan, and was much astonished at being allowed to reside not merely in the same house, but in the same apartment with me.

On the 12th of October we went ashore together, after having given an entertainment on board the ship, to celebrate our triple escape from shipwreck. Thus terminated our first voyage to Japan, the result of which was the satisfaction of knowing, that our comrades were still in existence, and that proved an ample reward for all the hardships we had undergone.

As Tachatay-Kachi had, during twenty years, been in the habit of visiting all the harbours of his native country, had considerable knowledge of navigation, and carried on an extensive trade, it was

obvious, that he must be a person known to the Japanese government. His polished manners proved that he belonged to the superior class of society. I had been reluctantly the author of his misfortune, and it afforded me no little consolation to find, that he did not give way to despondency. On the contrary, he cheered himself with the patriotic reflection, that he should be able, on his return home, to prove that our government entertained no hostile designs against Japan, and he pledged his existence, that if an embassy were dispatched to Nangasaky, our countrymen would be immediately liberated. Whilst we enjoyed the society of a man so well informed, and so entirely devoted to our interests, I was mortified that the Japanese interpreter of Irkutzk was not with us, and that he could not possibly visit Kamtschatka until the following year. However, our mutual anxiety to become intelligible to each other, induced Kachi to learn Russian in the course of the winter, and we were soon able to converse together, even on abstract subjects. I related to him all the imprudent transactions which had excited the displeasure of the Japanese, our abortive embassy to Nangasaky, &c. He said, that when the arrival of the Russian ships was known at Nangasaky, all the Japanese earnestly wished for the adoption of a commercial treaty with Russia; and that when certain events (a cruel breach was his expression) led to the dismissal of the Ambassador, all Japan was dipleased with the

government. Whilst communicating information respecting his country, and expressing his wish to see a trading intercourse opened between Russia and Japan, he would often say:—"I perceive in "my misfortune the finger of God, who hath "chosen me for his instrument. I had no important "reason for putting into the Bay of Kunashier; "it happened accidentally; I had not been there "for five years before, and I came in time to pre-"vent your hostile attack, whereby I have saved "the lives of some dozens of Russians, and perhaps "hundreds of Japanese. This idea animates me, "and I hope, notwithstanding my weak state "of health, to be able to withstand the severe cli-"mate of Kamtschatka."

The attention and sympathy which all the Russians manifested towards Kachi, made so deep an impression in the heart of this worthy man, that he meditated day and night on drawing up a report to his government, which, he intended, should give a very different account of the Russians from any yet presented by a Japanese. Far superior in education and understanding to any of the Japanese who had formerly been among us, he clearly perceived that the good of his country, on which he never reflected without emotion, required an amicable adjustment of the differences which had arisen, and in the course of which our government had taken no part. He was convinced, that if these differences continued, his country would

be the principal sufferer. He, therefore, strove to represent the singular conduct of the Japanese as well as their laws and customs, which are calculated to excite prejudice in the minds of foreigners, in as favourable a point of view as possible. He observed, that they never entertained the design of carrying on a useless contest with a powerful neighbouring empire, though the transgression of some of our countrymen had obliged them to take up arms in their own defence, and had raised in their minds, an idea that Russia entertained hostile designs against them—a notion, which would easily have been removed, had Japan, like other powers, maintained communications with her neighbours. This was, however, prohibited by their laws, and it was, consequently, impossible to ascertain, whether or not those atrocities had been committed by order of our government. Warlike preparations were then made throughout the whole of Japan, but the object of the Japanese was merely to obtain an explanation from the Russian government. "I "am confident," said he, "that a message from the "Governor of Irkutzk, declaring that Chwostoff's "proceedings were totally unauthorised, would be "sufficient to obtain the liberation of your com-"rades." These were not merely empty words, nor were they uttered by Kachi with the view of accelerating his liberation. We had, subsequently, full experience of their truth; and he actually became the instrument, whereby the differences be-

tween the two powers were adjusted, the deliverance of our countrymen was accomplished, and some points, which, if not very important, are yet opposed to the laws of the Japanese empire, were firmly established for the future.

I briefly reported to the Commandant of Okotzk all that had taken place, and requested that he would furnish me with an official letter from the Governor of Irkutzk to the Bunyo of Matsmai, adding, that I was myself ready to proceed to Okotzk to obtain this letter, and that Tachatay-Kachi had undertaken to deliver it personally to the Bunyo. We were to land Kachi at Kunashier, whither he proposed to transmit decisive answers and information respecting our comrades. Such was the plan we laid down for our future expedition.

Kachi continued tranquil and in good health until the middle of winter, when the death of two of his attendants greatly affected him. He then became melancholy and peevish; he constantly complained of indisposition, and asserted, that he had the scurvy in his feet, of which, he told the surgeon, he was certain he would die. Our surgeon was, however, well aware, that his real disorder was *nostalgia*, or an anxiety for home. He feared that he would be detained in Okotzk, whither I intended to take him, and he finally disclosed this apprehension to me. As the whole success of our plan depended upon his safe return to his country,

I immediately determined to convey him direct to Japan, without waiting for an answer from Irkutzk. When I informed him of this resolution, he called for his two remaining seamen, and communicated the joyful intelligence to them. He then requested that I would allow him a few moments privacy with his two attendants. I withdrew into the next room, believing that they wished to pray without any witness being present; but he soon came to me in his state dress, with his sabre by his side, and his two attendants behind him, and made a speech strongly expressive of his gratitude. I was surprised and moved, and again vowed to him the fulfilment of my promise.

In April, when we began to prepare for our voyage, I received from the Governor of Irkutzk orders, as Naval Commander at Kamtschatka, to carry into execution our new plan, which now had received the sanction of superior authority, and, in case I should again sail for the Japanese coast, to leave Lieutenant Rudakoff as my substitute, in the command of the station. In consequence of these orders, I took Lieutenant Filatoff, who had commanded the *Sotik* brig, on board of the *Diana*, to supply the place of Lieutenant Rudakoff. The *Sotik*, which had been separated from the *Diana* in the storm off Kunashier, in the preceding autumn, was afterwards wrecked on the coast of Kamtschatka, but the crew and part of the stores were saved by the activity of Lieutenant Filatoff.

On the 6th of May we cut through the ice, and got the *Diana* into the roads in the Bay of Avatscha, whence we sailed on the 23d of May. After a favourable voyage of twenty days, we cast anchor in the Bay of Deceit, at about the same distance from the Japanese fortifications as on the former year. In pursuance of the advice of Takatay-Kachi, his two sailors were desired to prepare themselves for going on shore. The buildings were, as formerly, concealed by striped cotton cloth. No guns were fired, but not a living being was to be seen along the whole of the coast. Before their departure the two Japanese sailors came into the cabin to thank me, and to receive the message which their Natschalnik wished to send to the Natchalnik of the Island. I took this opportunity of asking Tachatay-Kachi, whether he had commissioned his sailors to bring back circumstantial information respecting my countrymen, and whether he pledged himself for their return. He answered in the negative, I was startled at his refusal.—"You are surprised," said he, "because you do not know our laws"—"I do not, indeed, know them all," I replied; "but since it is so, (turning to the Japanese sailors,) tell the Governor of Kunashier from me, that if he prevents you from returning, and permits me to receive no information, I will carry your Natschalnik back to Okotzk, where some ships of war will this very year be fitted out, and armed men put on board of them, to demand the

liberation of the Russian prisoners. I will wait only three days for his answer."

At these words Takatay-Kachi changed countenance, but said, with much calmness,—"Commander of the Imperial Ship" (he always addressed me thus on important occasions) "thou counselest rashly. Thy orders to the Governor of Kunashier seem to contain much, but, according to our laws, they contain little. In vain dost thou threaten to carry me to Okotzk. My men may be detained on shore; but neither two nor yet two thousand sailors can answer for me. Wherefore, I give thee previous notice, that it will not be in thy power to take me to Okotzk:—but of that, hereafter. But, tell me, whether it be under these conditions only that my sailors are to be sent on shore?"

"Yes," said I; "as Commander of a ship of war I cannot, under these circumstances, act otherwise."

"Well," replied he; "allow me to give to my sailors my last and most urgent instructions as to what they must communicate from me to the Governor of Kunashier, for now I will neither send the promised letter, nor any other written document."

After this conversation, during which he sat according to the Japanese custom, with his legs under him, he rose up, and addressed me very earnestly in the following terms:—"Thou knowest enough of Japanese to understand all that I may

say, in plain and simple words, to my sailors. I would not wish that thou shouldst have any ground to suspect me of hatching base designs." He then sat down again, when his sailors approached him on their knees, and, hanging down their heads, listened with deep attention to his words. He then reminded them, circumstantially, of the day on which they were carried on board of the *Diana;* of the manner in which they had been treated on board the ship and in Kamtschatka; of their having inhabited the same house with me, and being carefully provided for; of the death of their two countrymen and the Kurile, notwithstanding all the attention bestowed on them by the Russian physician; and, finally, that the ship had hastily returned to Japan on account of his health. All this he directed them faithfully to relate, and concluded with the warmest commendations of me, and earnest expressions of gratitude for the care which I had taken of him at sea and on land. He then sunk into a deep silence and prayed. Hereupon, he delivered to the sailor whom he most esteemed, his picture, to be conveyed to his wife; and his large sabre, which he called his *paternal sword*, to be presented to his only son and heir. After the whole of this solemn ceremony was finished, he stood up, and with a frank and, indeed, a very cheerful expression of countenance, asked me for some brandy to treat his sailors at parting. He drank with them, and

accompanied them on deck without giving them any further charge.—We then landed them, and they proceeded, without interruption, towards the fortress.

All that passed between Kachi and the sailors who were separated from him, together with the significant words—"It will not be in thy power to take me to Okotzk," gave me much anxiety. The return of the sailors appeared to me very uncertain. I could retain their sick master as a hostage, but I could not prevent his rash speech from being realised. Whether I should put him ashore was a matter of difficult deliberation, and yet, all circumstances considered, that appeared to me the course likely to prove most beneficial to our imprisoned comrades. In case he should not return, I resolved to proceed immediately to the fortress. I knew enough of Japanese to make myself understood, and I thought if our companions were still alive, such a proceeding could not render their fate worse; while, in case they were dead, the whole affair, together with all my anxieties, would be speedily brought to a decision. I communicated my ideas to the senior of my officers, as it was necessary for the service to give him early information, in consequence of the execution of some duties remaining yet incomplete. As he concurred with me in opinion, I told Kachi, that he might go on shore as soon as he pleased, and that I would trust to his

honour for his return. If he did not come again it would cost me my life.

"I understand," answered he. "Thou darest not return to Okotzk without a written testimonial of the fate of thy countrymen; and, for my part, the slightest stain on my honour will be at the expense of my life. I thank thee for the confidence placed in me; I had before resolved not to go on shore on the same day with my sailors; that would not become me, according to our customs: but now, since thou hast no objection, I will go ashore early to-morrow."

"I will convey you thither myself," answered I. "Then," he exclaimed, with transport, "we are friends again! I will now tell thee what I meant by sending away my portrait and my *paternal sword*. But I must first confess, with that candour which I have invariably observed towards thee for the space of three hundred days, that I was much offended by thy message to the Governor of Kunashier. The menace of sending ships of war here during the present year did not concern me, but on hearing thy threat to convey me to Okotzk, I believed that thou didst regard me to be as great an impostor as Gorodsee (Leonsaimo)—I could, indeed, scarcely persuade myself that thy lips had uttered such an injury to my honour. For three hundred days thou hadst never spoken an unkind word to me; whilst I, owing to my fiery temperament, had frequently yielded to fits of passion,

without any cause. But, on this important occasion, anger overcame thy reason, and, in a moment, didst thou dispose me to become a criminal and a suicide. That a man of my rank should remain a prisoner in a foreign country, is repugnant to our national honour: yet thou wouldst reduce me to that condition. I willingly accompanied thee to Kamtschatka; and my government was informed of that circumstance; for I sent a message to Kunashier explaining thy reasons for visiting my ship. The sailors alone were compelled to accompany thee against their inclination. Thou wert the strongest party; but, though my person was in thy power, my life was not at thy disposal. I will now disclose to thee my secret design—I had resolved to commit suicide in case thy purpose remained unchanged! I therefore cut the central tuft of hair from the crown of my head, (he shewed me the bald part from which the hair had been removed) and laid it in the box which contained the portrait. This, according to our Japanese customs, signifies that he who sends his hair in this manner to his friends has died an honourable death; that is to say, has ript open his bowels. His hair is then buried, with all the ceremonies which would be observed at the interment of his body. Thou callest me friend, and therefore I conceal nothing from thee. So great was my irritation that I would have killed both thee and the senior officer, for the mere satisfaction of after-

wards communicating what I had done to thy ship's crew."

What a strange sense of honour according to European ideas! But the Japanese consider such conduct most magnanimous. The memory of the hero is preserved with respect, and the honour of the deed descends to his posterity. If, on the contrary, he should fail to act in this manner, his children are banished from the place of their birth. Yet I had lived in the same cabin with a man possessing these terrible ideas; and had slept tranquilly near him, in the confidence of perfect security. While shocked by the discovery of the danger from which I had escaped, I could not help asking him why he would have so limited his vengeance, as it was in his power, by setting fire to the magazine, to destroy us all. "No," said he, "what bravery would there have been in that? A coward alone would satiate his revenge in such a manner. Dost thou imagine that I would have killed thee in thy sleep, while I honoured thee as a valiant Natschalnik? No! I would have gone more openly to work."

Extraordinary man! After all I could not avoid esteeming him more highly than before.

The next day I embarked, with my reconciled friend, for the shore. On approaching it, we saw two Japanese coming out of the fortress, and, to our great joy, we recognized them to be Tachatay-Kachi's sailors. We landed, and waited for them

beside the stream opposite to which our ship lay. They informed us that the Governor of Kuhashier had received them kindly, and had granted my request respecting the supply of water, on condition that I should not allow my men to land on that side of the rivulet nearest the fortress. They added, that three officers of distinction had come, on our account, to Kuhashier, and on mentioning their names, Tachatay-Kachi recognized the two eldest as his intimate friends. Further than this, the sailors knew nothing, except that the Governor had expressed a desire to speak with their master as soon as possible. He noticed some trifles which I had given them and would not permit them to retain any thing. They accordingly brought back every article, even pins and needles, all tied up in a parcel. This, I thought, indicated no very friendly disposition, but Kachi removed my apprehensions by informing me that the Japanese laws prohibited his countrymen from receiving presents.

One of the sailors delivered me a box full of papers which had been sent by the Governor of Matsmai. I eagerly proceeded to open it, in the expectation of finding letters from our comrades; but Tachatay-Kachi prevented me. "Repress your curiosity," said he, "that box probably contains important papers from our government to yours." He then took it from me, observed his usual demonstrations of respect, and having raised the box three times above his head, said: "All

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is favorable to us! I say to *us*, for I now feel myself half a Russian. All will be well if you permit me to convey the box back to the Governor. To-morrow morning I will not fail to restore it to you. Such are the forms which the customs of our country render necessary."*

I hesitated for a few moments; but suddenly recollecting myself, and without manifesting the slightest distrust, I declared that I would follow his advice. We parted. I tore one of my handkerchiefs through the middle, and gave him one of the pieces, saying: "I will regard, as a friend, whoever brings back this half of my handkerchief within two or three days at furthest." He replied, in a firm tone of voice, that death alone should prevent him from fulfilling that duty. Next morning he would return on board the ship; in the meantime, he wished me to allow his seamen to accompany him. To this I readily acceded, went on board, and made the ship be kept ready for action during the night.

On the following day our sentinels informed me that they had observed two men quit the garrison, and that one of them carried something white in his hand which he was constantly waving about. This proved to be Kachi. I immediately

* Probably because it would have been considered, by the Japanese, a want of respect, to suffer a common sailor to present the box to the commander of a ship of war.

sent out the boat, and he soon arrived, accompanied by one of his sailors. To our great joy, he informed us that, according to letters from Matsmai, all our comrades were well, except the pilot who had been so dangerously ill that he had tasted nothing for the space of ten days, and, moreover, refused to follow the prescriptions of the Japanese physicians. The latest account, however, stated that he had, in some measure, recovered. He then delivered to me in the cabin, the official paper which had been in the before-mentioned box and which was a letter from the Bunyo of Matsmai to the Commandant of Kunashier, written in the Japanese language, with a Russian translation. I gave Kachi a note, acknowledging the receipt of this paper, to be taken back with him to Kunashier, and by his advice I also declared my readiness to sail straight to Chakodade, on condition that two Japanese should be allowed to accompany me, by whose means I might be enabled to commence regular communications. Kachi undertook to explain to the Commandant the contents of this letter, and in the evening we put him ashore.

Kachi returned next day, notwithstanding the rainy state of the weather, and stated that, though the Governor considered my proposal extremely reasonable, yet he was not authorized to act on his own opinion in such a case. He had, therefore, sent an express to Matsmai with my last letter and the one which I had written when I first arrived at

Kunashier. "There are Russian interpreters in Matsmai," said Kachi. He assured me that the post would return in twenty days. Taking into consideration all these favourable circumstances, I resolved to wait for the answer of the Bunyo of Matsmai. I wished to employ the intermediate time in drawing up a correct survey of the Bay of Deceit. For this purpose, I requested that the Commandant of Kunashier would permit the boats to sail about in various directions. He, however, sent me a very polite answer, stating that his instructions obliged him to decline granting this permission, we could, therefore, only land at the rivulet already mentioned, and on the condition before stated. The very civil terms in which this answer was couched, afforded us at least some consolation. In the meanwhile, Kachi, on every third day, brought us information of all that took place. In his name, his sailors frequently brought us presents of fish, which I distributed in equal portions among the crew. He gave strict orders that they should receive no payment in return for these presents, and always expressed his regret that the unproductive state of the fishery prevented him from being more liberal in his gifts. Indeed we did not, during the whole time, receive more than seventeen fish.

Whenever Kachi came on board our ship the day was always observed as a holyday. His first visit took place on the 14th of July. In the course

of our confidential conversation, I observed that I had read the letter from Matsmai several times over, and that I was astonished to find that it contained no mention of the very important circumstances through which he had become our prisoner. At first, he himself seemed surprised at this, and frequently made use of the emphatic Japanese exclamation: "*Fissingi!*" But after a little reflection, he said: "No! it is easily accounted for! According to our laws, you were justified in proceeding to hostilities, after having been informed that your countrymen were dead. Had you even put me and all my crew to the sword, our government, under the present circumstances, when inclined to friendship, would still have taken no notice of the event. I have ascertained that Gorodsee did not deceive you, but that the answer which he delivered to you was such as he really received from the Commandant who was greatly irritated by the attack of Chwostoff. He burned with desire to measure his strength with yours, and anxiously awaited the moment when you should attack the fortress. The whole garrison, consisting of about three hundred Japanese, had sworn to perish sword in hand. They, therefore, according to the custom of war, prepared for their funerals while living; for every man cut the tuft of hair from the crown of his head, and these locks were all deposited in one box, each wrapt in a separate piece of paper, on

which was written the name of the individual to whom it belonged. On your first hostile movement, this box was to be forwarded to Matsmai. As I know your spirit, I am well aware that a horrible carnage would have ensued. The superiority of your artillery might have ensured you the victory, but it would have been only of short duration. Few of your people could have escaped death, for the Japanese had learnt, from the conduct of Chwostoff's crew, that your countrymen are passionately fond of strong liquors, and they were, therefore, prepared to poison all the spirits!"

He also stated, that the Commandant regretted he could not supply us with fresh provisions, but that, though the fishing season had not yet commenced, boats had been sent out for the purpose of catching fish. Kachi himself promised to bring us some on the first draught, and on our requesting that he would not give himself so much trouble, he replied: "It cannot be too much! the first fruits of our labours should always be presented to our friends." We landed him again at the rivulet, whence he had to walk at least the distance of two wersts to the fortress.

Bad weather prevented him from visiting us next day. On the 16th, however, he came so early that our sentinels did not perceive him until he had reached the rivulet, and was waiting for our boat. I was vexed at this accident, and on his arrival I made an apology; observing that we could

not have expected him to sacrifice his rest in such a way. He frankly acknowledged that he had felt offended at the delay. "From the moment I quitted the garrison," said he, "I continued to wave the white handkerchief; and had the boat been a few moments longer of arriving, I should certainly have returned." I thought it proper to reprimand the sentinels in the presence of this punctilious old man. "You seem surprised," added he; "at my early visit. The Governor endeavoured to dissuade me from coming; but it is impossible to break one's word. Yesterday I spent a miserable day. I waited for the return of the fishermen, until it was too late to come to you. I could not enjoy a moment's sleep in consequence of not having fulfilled my promise. At break of day I arose; and having drunk a cup of tea, hastened hither with all the fish which were caught yesterday. They are, as you see, but fourteen in number. I shall to-day enjoy the satisfaction of partaking of the first fresh fish, in company with you; for I have as yet eat none on shore." What cordiality! I did not attempt to thank him, but merely said, "You are my friend, and friends understand each other."

Our dinner was served up before the usual hour, as Kachi frequently mentioned the keenness of his appetite. The fish, cooked with common Japanese grits, was our first and last dish. Kachi eat an uncommonly hearty dinner; and I thought

I had never tasted fish of finer flavour, for the meal was seasoned by friendship. After dinner we drank to the health of the worthy Kachi, and in the evening we put him on shore.

On the 18th he entered again into a friendly conversation; in the course of which he complained of the tedious life he lived on shore, and of the conduct of the person with whom he had resided, and who was the agent of the merchants by whom the island was farmed. He had differed with this man, and had therefore, with the Governor's consent, procured thirty Kuriles and timber for fitting up a wooden house; in which, he said with an air of triumph, he could now live quietly with his two sailors. He spoke with great contempt of this agent and of the company of merchants; and finally applied to them the pithy Japanese proverb—"Proud, but pennyless."

On the 20th I was informed that the sentinels had again observed our *Taisho;* for by this title Kachi was known among the sailors. In Japanese *Taisho* signifies commander. He used the word when he first addressed me, and I returned the compliment; and since that time the seamen had constantly called him the *Taisho*. I conjectured that the languor he experienced on shore had induced him to pay us this visit, before the stipulated term: I therefore shewed no suspicion when he came on board, but conducted him straight to the cabin. He sat down beside me, and, without

any remarkable expression of countenance, said, "This unsealed letter, written, as appears, in Russian, has this moment arrived from Matsmai." Lieutenant Filatoff, who was present, cast a look at the superscription, and in ecstasy exclaimed "It is the handwriting of our WASSILI MICHAILOVITSCH!" My joy knew no bounds; I snatched the letter from the hand of my friend Kachi, recognised Golownin's writing, and imagined, from the size of the paper, that it contained an account of the events of his captivity; but when I unfolded the letter I found merely the following lines:—

"We are all, both officers and seamen, and the Kurile Alexei, alive, and reside in Matsmai.

"WASSILI GOLOWNIN,

May 10, 1813. "FEODOR MOOR."

I took these gratifying lines, by which every doubt of the existence of our countrymen was removed, and read them on deck to the crew. Many of the men, who knew the writing of their adored captain, perused the letter themselves, and greeted Tachatay-Kachi with cheers. Grog was distributed to the whole ship's company, that they might drink to the health of their officers and friends, for whom they had all been willing, in the preceding year, to sacrifice their lives on this coast.

On this occasion the *Taisho* informed me of a happy incident which had occurred to him. He had received a letter from his son, at Chakodade, which the Governor had conveyed to him, in the following singular manner:—According to the Japanese laws a person immediately returned from a foreign country is allowed no correspondence or intercourse with others. The Governor therefore ordered him to be called, as if merely for the purpose of giving him Captain Golownin's letter to take on board the *Diana*. He said not a word, however, of any letter from Kachi's son, but, while walking up and down the room, he threw it towards him, as if it had been a piece of useless paper taken out of his pocket with the other letter, and then turned his back to give time for its being picked up. Kachi perfectly well understood what he meant, and, without any embarrassment, took up the letter, and put it in his pocket.

His son informed him, that his commercial business had been carried on in the most advantageous manner. The number of his ships were increased by some which had just been launched. His mother and the beloved wife of Kachi, for whose lives he had entertained fears, while in Kamtschatka, were both in good health; but the latter had, in her grief, made a vow to go on a pilgrimage through the whole of Japan, and visit the most celebrated shrines; and she was still engaged in that act of devotion. A rich man, his

bosom friend, had, on learning Kachi's fate, divided his property among the poor, and taken up his residence in the mountains as a hermit. What an example! among a people whom the Europeans regard as crafty, base, vengeful, and incapable of the delicate feelings of friendship! There are, indeed, in Japan, MEN who deserve that name in the highest sense of the word, and a national virtue which would not be unworthy of our imitation! "How rich you are," said I to Kachi, "in having such a friend!"—"I am, indeed, rich for I have two such friends."—"What! two friends!" exclaimed I, "what a number." This idea seemed to please him mightily.

He was farther informed, that his friends had, for several days, been preparing festivals in different temples in order to be ready to celebrate his return. He had been the subject of conversation throughout all Japan, and the general opinion was that God would preserve him in Russia and infallibly restore him to his country, and that happy consequences for Japan would arise out of his voyage. His son had embraced this opinion with so much confidence that he had, in due time, prepared this letter to be sent to Kunashier for the consolation of his father on his return thither, which he had a perfect conviction would soon take place.

This day was one of the most joyful of my life! When Tachatay-Kachi left us, he intimated a wish that the sailors might again salute him with

cheers; this was most heartily complied with by the whole ship's company.

On the 26th he came on board with the information that the post had arrived from Matsmai, and that the first Assessor or Counsellor of the Buniyo of Matsmai, who was to communicate the answer to my letter, had embarked on board an imperial Japanese ship. The Kurile, Alexei, and one of our Russian prisoners, were to accompany this mission. We all supposed that the Russian must be an officer, but our friend understood that he was one of the sailors.

On reference to the time at which the Japanese ship had sailed from Matsmai, it appeared probable that she would arrive on this or the following day. In fact, in a few hours after, we saw a vessel standing into the bay. Tachatay-Kachi knew her to be an imperial ship by a red mark in the form of a globe on her sails. The sides were covered with red stripes, and the gangway was hung round with striped cloth. Three flags, each of variegated colours, waved on the stern. There were planted also, on the same part of the ship, four long pikes, from which floated streamers, each black at the extremity. The number of these pikes indicates the rank of the person on whose account they are fixed up. On the approach of the vessel, Baidares, bearing flags, left the shore and proceeded out to meet her. Each supplied a particular boat, destined for towing, and they al-

together towed the ship towards the fortress. It was now dark, and we could not perceive what preparations were made on shore for the reception of the deputy of the Bunyo; but Kachi promised to return next day with an account of all that occurred.

Faithful to his appointment, we saw him in the morning coming down to the shore in company with another man. Kachi was instantly recognized by the white handkerchief which he always waved at the end of his sabre, and with respect to the other we did not remain long in uncertainty; for as they advanced, our worthy little friend occasionally vanished from our view in consequence of falling behind his more bulky companion. We all exclaimed: "That is one of our Russians."

It is impossible for me to describe the moving scene which followed, when our sailors beheld their comrade returned from captivity. A part of the crew were filling their water-casks at the rivulet. When the prisoner saw Russians on the other side of the stream, and probably recognised among them some of his old messmates, he made but one step to its banks, leaving Kachi at least nine paces behind him. Surprise and joy made our sailors forget that they were prohibited from crossing the rivulet. They waded through it, and embraced the welcome visitor in the most affectionate manner. The officer, who had the command of the party on

shore, informed me, that, at first, he did not know the stranger, he was so altered by the sufferings he had undergone. At last, all the men cried out with one voice, *Simanoff!* for that was his name. He then threw off his hat, knelt down, and could not utter a word, but the tears rolled fast down his cheeks. This affecting spectacle was renewed when he came on board the ship—I saluted him first, and asked whether our friends in Matsmai were well?—"God be praised," he replied, "they are in life, though not all quite well; Mr. Chlebnikoff, in particular, is dangerously ill!" I repressed my desire to ask further questions, as I observed the great impatience with which the seamen were waiting to embrace him.

I went down to the cabin with Kachi, who informed me, that the first officer of the Bunyo of Matsmai, named Takahassy-Sampey, who had just arrived, had commissioned him to communicate several circumstances to me. He took out his pocket-book, and read as follows:—

"Takahassy-Sampey testifies his respect to the "Commandant of Kamtschatka, and informs him, "that in consequence of the letter written to Mats- "mai, the BUNYO-SAMA (the chief Governor) has "sent him to Kunashier, in order to pay that re- "spect which is due to a man of so high a rank, "and to communicate certain preliminary points "regarding the liberation of all Russians. Taka- "hassy-Sampey regrets exceedingly, that the laws

" of Japan do not permit him to confer personally
" with the Commandant. He sensibly feels for the
" hardships which the officers and crew of the
" Russian ship have undergone in their repeated
" voyages to Kunashier, laments the hostilities
" which have occurred, and has, with the permis-
" sion of the OBUNYO of Matsmai, brought one of
" the Russian prisoners with him. This prisoner
" will be permitted to go on board the Russian ship
" every day, to converse with his countrymen; on
" condition that he always return at night to the
" fortress.—Takahassy-Sampey requests, that the
" Commandant of Kamtschatka will place full con-
" fidence in Takatay-Kachi, who has been chosen
" for the negotiation, and who has stated, that he
" can converse freely with the Commandant."

The official communication of the preliminary points was in the following terms:—

" 1. There must be conveyed to the Japanese Government a document, signed and sealed by two Russian Commanders of Districts, certifying, in conformity with the official papers already transmitted, that Chwostoff, without the consent or knowledge of the Russian Government, had unlawfully committed depredations on the islands of the Hairy Kuriles and on Sagaleen.

" 2. It is known that Chwostoff disturbed the tranquillity of the inhabitants of our settlements, and presumed to carry away the millet, and other commodities, which belonged to private indivi-

duals, and, in general, whatever he found, to Okotzk. Among the property thus removed, was our ammunition of war, including armour, bows and arrows, muskets, and some cannon. With respect to the former description of articles, plundered by Chwostoff, the Japanese government is of opinion that they must now, in consequence of the lapse of time, be totally unfit for use; the latter, however, are not liable to spoil by keeping, and ought, therefore, to be restored, least they should hereafter be regarded as trophies taken from the Japanese in war. But though they cannot be decayed or injured by use, they may not, perhaps, be now in Okotzk. It is true they could be collected together from different places, but such a collection might, on account of the distance of such places, be now very difficult: the Japanese government, therefore, considering the urgency of the present circumstances, will be satisfied, if the Commandant of Okotzk certifies, that after the strictest investigation, no more of the plundered property, brought by Chwostoff from the Kurile Islands and Sagaleen, are to be found in that place.

[It will be remarked by the reader, that the Japanese contrived, with much ingenuity and politeness, to make it be clearly understood, that it was well known to them, through Leonsaimo, what had been done with Chwostoff's booty. Only the strict purport of the passage has been given in the translation, but the whole was very delicately expressed in Japanese.]

"3. Respecting the hostilities in the preceding year, to which the Commandant of Kamschatka has alluded in his letter, the Japanese Government, in consideration of the then existing circumstances, recognize such conduct on the part of the Commander of a Russian imperial ship, as justifiable according to their laws, and have, therefore, passed it over in silence in their official note. But that TACHATAY-KACHI, the Commander of a Japanese ship, had been carried to Kamtschatka against his inclination, is not consistent with the information of the Japanese Government, as the letter received at the time from the FEAMOTSH TACHATAY-KACHI stated, that he had, according to his own wish, proceeded to that place, and that only four of his sailors had been taken by force.

"4. In order that the negotiations may be brought to a pacific and satisfactory conclusion, TAKAHASSY-SAMPEI hopes, that the Russian ship of war will, in the present year, return with the required certificate from Okotzk to Chakodade, where the undersigned, with the Commander COOD-SIMOTO-CHIOGORO, will be in waiting for the Commandant of Kamtschatka, to receive from him the said certificate, and, according to the lawful customs of Japan, personally to advise and jointly co-operate with him, in effecting the promised liberation of the Russian prisoners: in the mean time, he adds herewith the wish, that the Russian ship may, after a favourable voyage, speedily return to Chakodade."

Thus ended Kachi's commission; and I, full of impatience to speak with Simanoff, desired him to be called into a separate cabin. Finding himself alone with me, he ripped up the seam of his jacket, and drew out a sheet of fine Japanese paper, folded up in a singular form. The paper was entirely filled with writing. "This," said he, "is a letter to you from Wassili Michailovitsch. I have succeeded in concealing it from the notice of the suspicious Japanese. It contains an account of our sufferings, and some good advice respecting the mode in which you are to proceed." I eagerly took the letter, which appeared to come to me by miracle. I several times glanced my eyes over it; but, partly, through the dread that it might contain some unwelcome news, and partly through joy at the unexpected manner in which it had reached me, I was so agitated that I could not distinguish one word from another. Within the letter I observed two slips of paper, which contained some lines, very closely written by Mr. Chlebnikoff. I recovered myself, and to my indescribable joy, read that our unhappy friends still cherished some hope of returning to their native country. Captain Golownin's letter was as follows:—

"Dearest Friend,

"At length the Japanese seem to be convinced "of the truth of our declarations, respecting the "pacific intentions of Russia, and the unauthorized

"conduct of Chwostoff; but they require a formal "attestation thereof from some Natschalnik of our "Government, to which the imperial seal must be "affixed. It is to be hoped, that when fully per- "suaded of the friendly intentions of Russia, they "will enter into commercial relations with us; for "they seem already aware of the knavery of the "Dutch. We have informed them of the letter "which fell into the hands of the English, in which "the Dutch interpreters of Nangasaky boasted "of having produced a decided rupture between "Resanoff and the Japanese. Nevertheless, when "you have any intercourse with them, be extremely "cautious: carry on your conferences only in "boats, and always keep at the distance of a gun- "shot from the shore. Be not offended, however, "at the tardiness of their proceedings. We have "known them to deliberate for months on an un- "important affair, which in Europe would have "been decided in a day or two. In general, I "would recommend, as the four principal requi- "sites to be observed in treating with them, pru- "dence, patience, civility, and candour. On your "discretion depends, not merely our liberation, "but the interests of our country. May our pre- "sent misfortune be the means of restoring to "Russia those advantages, which she has lost "through the misconduct of one individual!—but "the sailor who is the bearer of this, will acquaint "you more circumstantially with my opinion on

"these subjects. It is not convenient to load him "with papers, and therefore I do not myself write "to the Minister.

"Where the honor of my sovereign and the in- "terest of my country are concerned, I do not set "the value of a copeck on my life; do not, there- "fore, take my safety into consideration. Be it "now, or ten or twenty years hence, sooner or later, "we must all pay the debt of nature. It is immate- "rial to me whether I die in battle or by the hand "of treachery,—whether I perish amidst the waves "of the sea, or yield my last breath on a bed of "down.—Death is always Death, though he may "present himself under a variety of forms. I "beg, my dearest friend, that you will write, in "my stead, to my brother and my friends. Pro- "vidence may have ordained that I shall see them "again, and perhaps not. In the later case, tell "them not to be distressed on account of my fate, "and that I wish them health and every happiness. "I entreat you, in the name of Heaven, to suffer "no one to write to me or to send any thing "which may occasion me to be tormented by "translations and questions; but state your own "determination in a few lines. I request that you "will give the sailor who is the bearer of this "five hundred rubles from my effects.* Present

* Captain Golownin supposed that Simanoff was completely released by the Japanese, and would return with us to Russia,

" my sincere respects to our comrades, the officers
" of the *Diana*, and remember me to all the sea-
" men. With the deepest gratitude, I return you
" thanks for the many dangers you have en-
" countered for the sake of obtaining our freedom.
" Adieu, dear friend! and all dear friends, Adieu!
" This letter is probably the last you will ever re-
" ceive from me! May you enjoy health, con-
" tent and happiness! April 10th, 1813. In the
" city of Matsmai, in Japanese imprisonment.

" Your most faithful,

" WASSILI GOLOWNIN."

In this letter, Captain Golownin warned me against relying too confidently on the apparent sincerity of the Japanese, and hinted that I might obtain, through the bearer, his advice respecting the conduct I should adopt in case affairs took an unfavourable turn. But Simanoff was so overjoyed at the liberty he had obtained, and the opportunity of mixing with his shipmates, that he behaved throughout like one that had lost his wits. Whenever I sought to be made acquainted with his instructions, he constantly replied: " Why do you question me, Sir? The letter contains all the information you can stand in need of." He frequently wept like a child and exclaimed: " I alone have, for a moment, been set at liberty; but six of our countrymen are still lingering in confinement. I fear that, if I do not return

speedily, they will be ill-treated by the Japanese." —So much for our kind-hearted, but stupid messenger.

I relied, however, on Kachi's honesty as on a rock, and regarded all further precaution as superflous. Golownin's letter served merely, more completely, to inform us of what was required by the Japanese government, and this was, at all events, highly important.

Having satisfied our curiosity concerning the situation of our comrades, by a thousand various questions, we again put our friends Kachi and Simanoff ashore. I requested that Kachi would inform Takahassy-Sampey that, should the wind prove favourable, I intended to set sail for Okotzk on the following day, and that I would, without fail, return to Chakodade in the present year, provided with all the documents he required; I, moreover, begged that he would offer him our sincere thanks for the friendly dispositions he had manifested, and particularly for permitting us to have an interview with our countryman.

Finally, on the 29th of July, we took farewell of Tachatay-Kachi. On this occasion, he brought three hundred fish on board for the sailors. I was somewhat mortified at his having constantly refused to accept of any present, except a little sugar, tea, and French brandy; he even proposed that his clothes and other articles of property which he had on board the *Diana*, and which were apparently

of considerable value, should remain in my custody, observing: "That we should soon meet again in Chakodade." "There," said he, "I can, without any obstruction, receive the tokens of your friendship, but here it would be extremely troublesome to me to be made accountable, according to our laws, for every trifle."—"At least," said I, "take back your own property, you know the dangers to which a sea life is every moment exposed." — "How!" exclaimed he, "can you apprehend danger after the evident protection of Heaven which you have experienced? ZEESEI, ZEESEI, TAISHO! (that is to say: timid, timid commander!) That you have sufficient time before you for accomplishing a safe voyage, a wise man like you who knows how to observe the heavens (alluding to astronomical observations) cannot deny. I do not like your look; I see that you are concerned about my trifles, though it was my intention to request permission to distribute them among your seamen; but I perceive your uneasiness of mind, which probably proceeds from your doubt of the business being finally adjusted this year; I must, consequently, conclude that your sailors, several of whom still distrust me, would imagine that I had given them presents under the conviction that I should never see them more. I, therefore, beg that the trifles may remain in your keeping until you return to Chakodade. TEN TAISHO!" — *Ten* signifies: place confidence in God!

The penetrating and grateful Tachatay-Kachi was, indeed, not wrong in his conjecture. But the reader may himself judge how great was our cause for uneasiness. As soon as he departed we weighed anchor, notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, with the intention of putting to sea: but the wind soon became fair, and after a pleasant voyage of fifteen days, we again cast anchor in Okotzk harbour.

I immediately addressed a report to the Commandant of Okotzk, containing an account of all that had taken place; and he, in return, furnished me with the document required by the Japanese Government, together with a letter of friendly explanation from the Governor of Irkutzk to the Bunyo of Matsmai, which supplied every thing necessary to be stated.

A Japanese, named *Kisseleff*, who had been sent from Irkutzk to serve as our interpreter, now came on board the *Diana*. We remained in Okotzk roads eighteen days, which time we employed in taking on board a supply of every thing we stood in need of, and in repairing the vessel, which had suffered considerable injury. On the 11th of August we were ready to sail, for the third time, to the coasts of Japan, with a full reliance on the assistance of Heaven in the attainment of our wished-for object. Before our departure we held solemn worship on board the vessel, and fired all our guns in honour of the Emperor. Our au-

gust monarch, though at that moment occupied with the important affairs of Europe, had not forgotten his few unfortunate subjects; but had ordered an expedition to be fitted out for the liberation of Golownin at this port, ten thousand wersts distant from his capital.

Among the visitors who this day came on board the *Diana* were the Commandant of the Harbour, Minitzky, and his amiable wife, Eugenia Nikolanona. The warm wishes which this lady entertained for our success, induced her to venture on those stormy roads, where, at the same season in the preceding year, her husband had nearly lost his life. She was the only Russian lady who honoured the *Diana* with a visit, and she is therefore entitled to the sincere thanks which I, together with the rest of the officers, take this opportunity of presenting to her. During the worship the motion of the ship was so violent that all our guests from the shore, with the exception of this youthful heroine, were seized with sickness. She devoutly joined us in prayer for the liberation of our comrades.

Owing to adverse southerly winds which prevailed along the Peninsula of Sagaleen, twenty days elapsed before we reached the coast of Matsmai. On the 10th of September we entered Vulcano Bay, in which is situated the safe harbour of Edomo, whither I had resolved to repair. As we approached the promontory we could plainly

discern the buildings and even the inhabitants of the place. With six hours of favourable wind we calculated on reaching the harbour; but there is no certainty at sea. During the night the wind became more adverse than before, and a storm at length arose, which, on the following morning, drove us from the coast. It was at the period of the equinox when, in this part of the world, violent storms prevail even more frequently than elsewhere. It appeared now doubtful whether it would be possible to reach the Japanese coasts this autumn. In that case I determined, instead of returning to Kamtschatka, which, owing to the long winter, would have been attended with great loss of time, to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, lie there three months, and return by the month of April, when the navigation on the northern coasts of Japan would again be open. I communicated this plan to the rest of the officers, though I did not wish to carry it into effect until the 1st of October. In furtherance of the plan, it was necessary to shorten the allowance of water, a regulation to which the crew submitted without a murmur; but to our great joy, the storm abated on the 12th day, and, as is usual with seamen, mild and favourable breezes soon made us forget all our past sufferings.

One melancholy circumstance, however, occurred to interrupt our happiness. We had the misfortune to lose one of our bravest and most experienced sailors. This poor man met with a

severe accident among the rigging, and on being brought down, all surgical aid proved ineffectual. At such a moment it would, perhaps, have been of advantage if our surgeon could have gone aloft; but, unfortunately, he had hitherto served only in the army and was unaccustomed to climbing the shrouds, though he was, in other respects, an extremely active and courageous man. He was not the same surgeon whom we had brought with us from Cronstadt; that officer was, on account of ill health, under the necessity of returning to Petersburg.

In our situation we felt, with double severity, the loss of this valuable seaman. As we committed his body to the waves with due religious solemnity, the whole crew melted into tears—a spontaneous tribute paid to his six year's faithful service! and what a service! The reader must be aware that our path was not strewed with roses. Few, who have not been in a similar situation, can conceive how close the knot of friendship is drawn when it unites together a little band who have, for a long period, been separated from their friends and relatives.

We entered Vulcano Bay on the 22nd, and, at nine in the morning, three baidars were observed steering towards our vessel. I dispatched Lieutenant Filatoff to meet them, and he soon conducted them alongside. There were eighteen Japanese on board these baidars, who, at our invitation, boldly ascended the deck of the *Diana*.

We enquired where we could find a harbour, and they informed us that there was one called SANGARO, about two wersts distant, in a southerly direction, near the promontory which had about twenty fathoms depth of water. We soon found that they had come on board merely from curiosity to see the foreign ship. As we wished to put into *Edoma*, which had been visited by Captain Broughton in 1796, we requested them to conduct us to that port; but they declined to do so, probably because they dared not without permission, and left us. From Captain Broughton's description, we were, however, pretty certain of being able to enter the harbour without their assistance, and we accordingly stood into it with an easterly wind. At noon, we discovered a tolerably large town, and on the heights batteries which were overhung with cloth. A baidare was sent out to meet us, on board of which were thirteen hairy Kuriles, whom the Japapese call *Ainos*. These Kuriles were accompanied by a native of Japan, named *Leso*, one of those who had been in Kamtschatka with Tachatay-Kachi, and whom we had put ashore on our return to Kunashier. He informed me that, in consequence of the agreement concluded at Kunashier, he had been sent by the Bunyo of Matsmai, as a pilot, to conduct us to the harbour of Chakodade. He enquired whether we wanted any thing, as the authorities of that place had been directed to furnish us with

whatever we might require. We stood in need of nothing except fresh water, and I availed myself of the opportunity to send on shore fifty empty casks; we then cast anchor in eleven fathoms, with a muddy bottom.

On the following day, the same baidare, manned by the same Kuriles, brought back our casks filled with fresh water from Edomo, and likewise some fresh fish and radishes as presents from the Governor. We returned him our thanks, and again sent twenty empty casks, which were brought back in the evening. We took advantage of the fine weather to repair our rigging, which had been considerably damaged during the storm, and every thing was soon restored to a state of good order. For several days the Japanese continued to fill our casks, and to send presents of fresh fish and vegetables in such abundance as enabled us to deal out plentiful supplies to the crew; but, in spite of all our persuasions, they obstinately refused to accept of any return.

On the morning of the 26th the baidare brought me a letter from Captain Golownin, written in Chakodade. He informed me that when the *Diana* should come within sight of the harbour a white flag would be displayed on the hill; and that Tachatay-Kachi would be sent out to us: as, however, the latter could not depart without an order from the Bunyo of Matsmai, he advised us, in the meanwhile, to trust to the sailor Leso, who

was a skilful pilot. This letter was a reply to one which I had addressed to the Japanese authorities, on our first arrival at Edomo, and in which I expressed my doubts of the sincerity of the Japanese, since they sent a common sailor to meet us, instead of dispatching Tachatay-Kachi or some individual of rank. Now, however, I was very willing to accept of Leso as a pilot.

Having, without any trouble, got all our empty casks filled with fresh water and every other necessary supplied, we set sail at ten o'clock. At eight o'clock on the following evening we discovered fires on various parts of the coast of Matsmai; one of which was particularly large and blazing. We were soon met by a baidare, bearing a white flag and two lanterns, and on board of which was our faithful friend Tachatay-Kachi.—This proved a joyful meeting to both parties; for there was now every probability of our mutual wishes being fulfilled. He came by order of the Japanese Government to conduct us into the harbour of Chakodade. He was himself accompanied by a distinguished officer of the port. By their mutual direction we cast anchor, at half-past eight in the evening, in a place which is called by the Japanese YAMASEE-TOMURBE, and which is the common anchoring place for vessels when easterly winds prevent them from entering the harbour. When every necessary arrangement was made, we eagerly sat down to converse with the good Kachi,

with whom we communicated with more facility than before, as we had the assistance of the interpreter Kesseleff.

Our first question, of course, related to our countrymen. Kachi informed us, that they were in Chakodade, and that the Bunyo of Matsmai, CHATTORI-BINGONO-KAMI, had already arrived in person for the purpose of concluding the negotiation, and liberating the prisoners. We conversed together for a considerable time, and I gave an account of the total overthrow of the French, to which he listened with unfeigned interest. He then took his leave, promising that he would return next day to conduct the ship into the harbour. During the night, we observed fires burning on various parts of the coast, and a watch-boat rowed up to us and lay near the vessel as long as we remained there.

Kachi fulfilled his promise of returning early on the following morning. We sailed into the Bay of Chakodade, and, after a few hours, we cast anchor in a place which he pointed out, and which was scarcely the distance of a gun-shot from the city. He then acquainted me with the laws concerning European vessels; he stated that we could not be permitted to sail about the harbour in boats; that, as long as we remained there, a watch-boat would, day and night, be stationed near the vessel; that every thing we stood in need of would be conveyed to us by government vessels;

and that all persons were strictly prohibited from visiting us.

In the evening, he went on shore in order to draw up a circumstantial report of his proceedings.

"The city of Chakodade, the second in magnitude on the island, is situated on its southern coast, on the declivity of a high circular hill, which rises above the peninsula there formed; it is washed on the south by the Bay of Sangar, and on the north and west by the Bay of Chakodade, which is very convenient for receiving a large fleet. The peninsula forms its junction on the east by a narrow stripe of land, so that there is at once a view of both the open sea and the low grounds.

On the northern side of the bay, a spacious valley extends over a circuit of fifteen or twenty miles, bounded on three of its sides by hills. In the centre of this valley lies the village of Onno, the inhabitants of which are chiefly occupied in agriculture. The other villages which are situated on the coast, are, for the most part, inhabited by fishermen. We learned these particulars from our friends on their return, for they had been conducted about the city, and in their walks observed that this valley was better cultivated than any other district they had seen. The hill, at the foot of which the city is built, serves as an excellent landmark for ships entering the bay, as it is easily recognized at a distance by its circular form, and is detached from every other elevated object. On the

western side, this hill is formed of huge masses of rock, in one of which there is a cavity perceptible from the sea. The depth of water, close in land, is very considerable on the southern and western sides of the peninsula, but as there are neither sand-banks nor rocks to be apprehended, the coast may be approached without danger. There are, however, numerous sand-banks on the northern side, and consequently only small vessels can get up to the town. From the projecting cape opposite the town, a sand-bank of unequal depth extends one-third of the breadth of the bay. On the northern and eastern sides of the bay, the depth of the water gradually diminishes towards the shore.

As we approached the town, we observed that cloth was hung out only at a few places on the hill, or near it, and not over the whole buildings as at Kunashier. With the assistance of our telescopes, we observed six of these skreens of cloth, probably destined to conceal fortifications, which our countrymen had an opportunity of seeing on their way from Matsmai to Chakodade. There were, besides, five new fortifications erected along the coast, and provided with garrisons of suitable strength; they were, at short distances from each other, and about from two to three hundred fathoms from the shore.

We no sooner entered the roads than we were surrounded by a number of boats of all descriptions and sizes, filled with the curious of both

sexes. A European ship must, indeed, have been to them an object of uncommon interest; for, as far as I could ascertain, they had seen none since they were visited twenty-two years before by Laxman, and Lowzoff, the commander of the Okotzk transport ship *Catharina*. Many of the inhabitants, therefore, never beheld a European vessel of any kind, and still less a ship of war; they accordingly thronged around us in vast numbers, and their curiosity frequently gave rise to disputes among themselves. The DOSEENEE (Japanese soldiers), who were stationed in the watch-boats, continually called to them to keep at a farther distance. But so great was the confusion, that, though the people generally shew great respect to the soldiers, their orders were, on this occasion, disregarded. The military were, therefore, under the necessity of using the iron batoons, which they wear fastened to their girdles by long silken strings. They neither spared rank nor sex, old persons alone experienced their indulgence, and we had various opportunities of observing, that the Japanese, in all situations, pay particular respect to old age. In this case, blows were freely dealt out to the young of every description who ventured to disobey the commands of the soldiers, and we were, at length, delivered from a multitude of visitors who would have subjected us to no small degree of inconvenience. We should have been unable to move had they all been permitted to

come on board the vessel; and to keep them out by force was a measure which we could not have adopted without reluctance, considering the favourable turn which our intercourse with the Japanese had taken. They were at last, however, compelled to withdraw to a certain distance indicated by the guards, and no boat dared to pass the boundary. In this way they covered a considerable portion of the bay, and when those who were most a-head had gratified their curiosity, their places were immediately occupied by the next in succession. They did not all depart until twilight; after which, only those individuals who were sent by the government were allowed to approach our ship, and even they were subject to the examination of the watch-boat.

Next morning, we observed a boat with white flags* standing towards us from the town. Tachatay-Kachi, with the sailor who had been our pilot, came on board in this boat, and brought presents of fish, vegetables and water-melons. The sailor carried a bundle, which I perceived contained clothes. Kachi begged that I would permit him to retire to his old cabin to dress, informing me that the Bunyo of Matsmai, who was highly satisfied with his services in Kunashier, had appointed him negotiator in this important affair, on

* I ought to have mentioned, that the white flag was constantly displayed along with the flag of war.

which occasion he had, according to the customs of Japan, been invested with certain privileges. In fulfilment of this duty, it was necessary that, during his communications with me, he should appear in the robes appropriate to his official situation. He accordingly withdrew, to attire himself, and in the meanwhile I put on my state uniform and hung my sword by my side. After a polite salutation, Kachi intimated, through our interpreter Kisseleff, that he did not now speak in the name of the Bunyo, but in the names of the two chief officers, who requested that I would deliver the official paper which I had engaged to bring from Okotzk. I replied that I was prepared to present it to the officers themselves, but that no time might be lost I would deliver it to Kachi. I assembled my officers in full uniform, in the cabin, to witness this proceeding, and with all due solemnity I presented to Kachi the official document from the Commandant of Okotzk, which was wrapped up in blue cloth. I, at the same time, stated that I had, in my possession, another important official letter from His Excellency the Governor of Irkutzk to the Most Powerful Bunyo of Matsmai, but which I could deliver only in my own person, either to the Bunyo or to some distinguished officer who might be sent to receive it. Tachatay-Kachi urgently solicited that I would give him this letter also, as it would procure him high honour in Japan when

it should be known that he was thought worthy of delivering into the handsof the OBUNYO an official document from a Russian Governor. But this I resolutely declined, observing that, though I loved him as a friend, yet I could not consent to any thing which might be thought derogatory to the dignity of the Governor of Irkutzk, nor betray the trust which had been reposed in me.

I now proposed that my interview with the Japanese authorities should take place on shore, but close to the sea, as I found it was impracticable to communicate with them in boats. According to Kachi's account, the people in the streets fell upon their knees whenever the two chief officers appeared in their *norimons* (sedan chairs); how then could we hope that they would consent to lay aside all their ceremonies and hold a conference in boats with the commander of a foreign ship? Besides, I had credentials from the Governor of Irkutzk. I was invested with full powers in conformity with the pleasure of my Sovereign, and consequently appeared in the character of an ambassador. If, therefore, the Japanese dared to act treacherously, I might be certain that my treatment would not be looked upon with indifference, but would be considered as a national concern. I had also the less reason to hesitate in fulfilling my mission in the usual manner, as I knew that the dignity of an ambassador was much respected in Japan.

Tachatay-Kachi begged that I would think

no more about his indiscreet request, and then went ashore. He returned next day, dressed himself as before, and, in the name of the two principal officers, inquired whether the crew of the *Diana* stood in need of any thing, or whether the ship itself required repairs, as she had probably suffered damage during her long voyage, at that late season of the year. I returned my thanks, and observed, that we had a good supply of every thing, except fresh water, fish and vegetables (all of which abounded in Chakodade), and that the ship was in a state of perfect repair. Kachi then informed me that he had delivered the official document from the Commandant of Okotzk, with all due ceremony; that its contents were deemed satisfactory, and that my proposal to hold an interview with the commandant, in order to present the letter from the Governor of Irkutzk, had been assented to. He added that the object of his present visit was to arrange the ceremonies which it would be necessary to observe during this conference; and, in the first place, to settle respecting the guard of honour. I observed that I would bring on shore with me ten men, armed with muskets; that two petty officers should precede me, carrying the war-flag and the white flag of truce; and that I should be accompanied by two commissioned officers and the interpreter. I besides consented to be rowed ashore in the Governor's state barge. After a mutual salutation, which on my

side was to be made in the European manner, by a bow, an arm chair was to be placed for me, and behind it two common chairs for my officers. During the introductory address, whether proceeding from the Japanese or myself, I was, as a mark of respect, to stand, and then immediately to take my seat. With the exception of the muskets, Kachi observed, that all these regulations would be readily agreed to; "But," said he, "we know of no instance in which a foreign ambassador, whatever might be the object of his mission to Japan, has been suffered to present himself at a ceremonial conference with a retinue bearing fire arms. Be satisfied with the same mark of respect which has been shewn to other European ambassadors in Nangasaky; namely, that the men composing your suite shall be permitted to wear their swords; but let them leave their muskets behind them. To allow your ship to sail into our innermost harbour, armed and provided with powder, and thus to leave you the means of injuring us if you pleased, though the first is by no means a slight departure from our laws."

As I was well convinced that favours had been conceded to us which no other European ship had ever enjoyed, I was prepared to yield the point with respect to the muskets: and I merely observed to Kachi that a guard without muskets was not a guard of war, and was consequently beneath my rank as commander of a Russian imperial ship.

"With us," said I, "only men in the military and naval service are permitted to carry muskets, in the same manner as such persons wear two sabres in Japan; our muskets therefore correspond exactly with your two sabres." But I added that if this proposition were objected to, he need not insist upon it, and that I would go on shore upon the other conditions being agreed to. Having made memorandums of all that passed between us, he took his leave. On the following day he came with a joyful countenance, to inform me that every thing was settled, even the point respecting the muskets. "At first," said he, "our officers were all silent; but after they had considered the matter for some time, I repeated all your arguments, one after the other; and I am now directed to inform you that the two first officers will expect you to-morrow, at the place appointed on the shore, to receive from your hands the letter from the Governor of Irkutzk. At twelve o'clock the Governor's state-barge will be ready to receive you. One thing only remains to be arranged: you can on no account whatever appear in boots in the audience-chamber, which has been covered with fine carpets; on which the high officers will sit down cross-legged. To appear there in boots would be quite repugnant to our customs, and would be a most unwarrantable indecorum. You must consequently leave your boots in the anti-chamber, and enter only in your stockings."

I was somewhat embarrassed by this singular proposal, which was so opposite to every European notion of propriety. In making arrangements for the ceremonies, I had never once thought of mentioning my boots. The Japanese, on the other hand, likewise thought it superfluous to say a word on the subject; for, as Captain Golownin afterwards informed me, their demand referred merely to a common act of politeness. I replied, with some degree of warmth, that I would never consent to appear in full uniform, with a sword by my side and without either boots or shoes. I observed to Kachi that I was well aware it was customary with the Japanese to take off their shoes even before they entered a common apartment; "but," said I, "you, who are an intelligent man, cannot but know how widely your customs differ from those of European nations. Your countrymen, for instance, instead of trowsers, wear a loose dress resembling our night-gowns, and in which no European gentleman would suffer himself to be seen, except in his bed-chamber. You never enter a strange house with your shoes on; whereas to go barefooted would, with us, be esteemed rude and even disgraceful, and only befitting the lowest of criminals. How then can you expect that a man of my rank should comply with such a custom?"

Tachatay-Kachi could make no reply; he had never for a moment bestowed a thought on this

important point. I reflected for a few moments, and then declared that I would endeavour to comply with all that was required, in order that no obstacle might stand in the way of the proposed conference. "In Russia," continued I, "it is customary, when we wish to shew particular respect to any person of distinction, to exchange our boots for shoes in the anti-chamber." "That is sufficient," exclaimed Kachi, joyfully, "no violation of the rules of politeness need be made by either party. Your shoes may easily be compared to our Japanese half-stockings; and I will say that you agree to take off your boots, and to appear in the audience-chamber in leather stockings." He immediately went ashore, and to my astonishment returned in the evening, to inform me that the officers were highly satisfied with my arrangement respecting the leather stockings. He added, that if, however, I absolutely insisted on appearing in boots I might do so; though, in that case, the officers instead of receiving me on their knees, must sit on chairs after the European manner; which, in Japan, is regarded as a great mark of disrespect and even rudeness.

He then produced a drawing of the building, in which it was proposed the interview should take place. In front of the edifice, a number of soldiers were sketched, sitting cross-legged. In the first apartment were the officers of inferior rank. Here I was to draw off my boots, and then

pass by a row of officers likewise sitting cross-legged. At the upper end of the hall of audience, the places for the two chief officers were marked out; on the left the interpreter, on the right an academician, who had arrived for the express purpose of making observations on the Russian ship of war, and collecting particulars respecting European science. My place was marked out in the centre of the hall, facing the high authorities, and behind me were chairs for my two officers. The guards, with muskets and flags, were sketched in front of the open doors of the building.

Every thing being thus arranged, Kachi took his leave, promising, if the weather should prove favourable, to return at twelve o'clock next day to escort me in the state barge.

I now turned my thoughts to our interpreter Kisseleff, whom it was necessary I should take ashore along with me. I was well aware of the severity of the laws of Japan towards subjects who have become christians and lived in foreign countries. Kisseleff, in the letter which he translated, had described himself to be a native of Russia, though the son of a Japanese woman; yet it appeared probable that his perfect knowledge of the Japanese language would immediately betray him, and in that case, the consequences might have been fatal. I left it to his own free choice whether or not he would incur the danger, and he replied: "What have I to fear? If they detain you, they detain us

all. They will not seize me alone. I am no Japanese, and intreat that you will take me with you, in order that I may have an opportunity of fulfilling my duty. The conference will be of the highest importance; but I can be of no service to you by remaining on board the ship. To what purpose did I encounter the dangers of this long voyage, if I am now to be left behind." I gladly consented to take him with me; and I gave orders that the two officers who, of their own accord, had offered to accompany me should hold themselves in readiness.

Next day, at twelve o'clock, the state-barge was sent out with a number of flags waving on board. Tachatay-Kachi appeared in full costume, and informed me that we should depart whenever the flag was displayed from the building in which the conference was to take place. The flag was unfurled precisely at twelve o'clock, and we went on board the barge. The barge was rowed by sixteen chosen Japanese, most of whom, as Kachi informed me, were eminent and wealthy merchants who had seized that opportunity of gratifying their curiosity. Their manner of rowing differs from the European, in this, that they do not throw the blade of the oar forward, but keep, merely turning it about; and yet, the boat is moved with as much velocity as would be produced by our method. We had fixed our war flag along with the Japanese flags in the stern; at the prow, however,

we hoisted the white flag of truce, and in this manner we rowed towards the town, accompanied by several hundred boats filled with spectators. The building in which the conference was to take place, was situated close to the shore, near a stone landing place. In the front of the house we observed a number of Japanese soldiers sitting according to custom on the ground. Tachatay-Kachi was the first who stepped out of the barge; he proceeded immediately to the house, to inform the high officers of our arrival, and soon returned to intimate that every thing was prepared for our reception. To have enquired why no Japanese officer had been dispatched to meet me, seemed then, an untimely and useless question; I therefore ordered the petty officer, who was the bearer of the white flag, to land next to the ten marines under arms, and the other petty officer to follow with the war flag; I then stepped out of the barge followed by two commissioned officers. The marines ranged themselves in front of the open doors, and saluted me in the military style as I passed. In the entrance hall, my shoes were put on by Japanese attendants, one of whom carried a chair behind me. I then entered the audience-chamber, which was filled with officers of various ranks, all wearing their military dress and two sabres. I was somewhat surprised at the dead silence which prevailed throughout the apartment. On observing the two chief officers who were sitting

near each other crossed legged, I advanced towards them and bowed. They returned my salutation by an inclination of the head. I then bowed to the right and left, and took my seat in the chair which had been placed for me. Uninterrupted silence prevailed for the space of some minutes. I was the first to break it by observing through the Interpreter Kisseleff, that I considered myself in presence of friends. Instead of making any reply, the two chief officers laughed; but the elder of the two, who had come from Kunashier, opened the conference by turning to an officer who sat on his left, and who, while addressed, inclined his head towards the ground; but the superior spoke in so low a tone of voice, that Kisseleff could not collect a word he said. The officer who had listened in the manner I have described, having resumed his former attitude, after a respectful salutation, to my great astonishment, addressed me in tolerably good Russian. He was, as I afterwards learnt, the Interpreter MURAKAMI-TESKE, who had been taught Russian by Captain Golownin. "The Russians," said he, "some time ago, occasioned great disturbances on the coasts of Japan, but all is now happily settled. The certificate of the Natschalnik of Okotzk is very, very satisfactory." I answered through himself as interpreter, that by the happy settlement of which he spoke the liberation of our prisoners, was doubtless to be understood, which for our part,

would repay all the hardships we had endured by a day of joy.

After some interchange of compliments, I proceeded to call the attention of the superior officers to the letter of the Governor of Irkutzk, which Savelieff handed to me in a box covered with a purple cloth. I took it out, read the address aloud, and returned it. Savelieff having replaced the letter, handed the box to the interpreter, who elevated it above his head, and then placed it in the hands of the junior of the two great officers. The latter raised it to the height of his breast, and delivered it to the senior officer, who stated that he would immediately present it to the Bunyo, and that, in consideration of the importance of the document, two days would be necessary for preparing the answer. The presents which were handed by Savelieff to the Japanese Interpreter, were laid before the officers. They both requested that I would accept of some refreshments, which were prepared in the house, stood up, bowed towards me, and withdrew with the presents. The interpreter Murakami-Teske, then welcomed us in a very friendly manner, addressed me by my Russian name and said: "God be thanked! that I can "now congratulate you on a happy settlement. "Captain Golownin and the other Russians will "soon be sent on board to you; our laws do "not permit that you should yet meet—but they

"are all well." The Academician also congratulated us and our worthy friend Tachatay-Kachi; who, during the ceremony, had stood at the extremity of the chamber, now approached. We were treated with tea and sweetmeats served on lackered trays. I was distinguished by having an officer of subaltern rank placed by my side, who received whatever was destined for me and presented it. After having been on shore two hours, we took leave and returned on board with Kachi. I had ordered Lieutenant Filatoff to decorate the ship with flags as soon as he saw us land, but not to fire, as I knew that the Japanese would not be pleased with that compliment; for they say it is very absurd in the Europeans to make the firing of cannon, which are engines of destruction, a mark of honor and respect. There are, however, instances of the practice among themselves; for the Prince of Sindaisk is saluted with rounds of artillery on leaving or entering his principality.

The day was fine, and the decoration of the ship with flags, afforded a delightful spectacle to the curious of both sexes, who crowded out in boats to view it. Thus ended, to the satisfaction of both parties, our conference with the Japanese authorities, during which the Russian imperial flag, which then waved, in consequence of national negotiations, for the first time, on the territory of this haughty people, received due honors. The select escort which accompanied me had sworn not to

allow the sacred imperial standard to pass from their hands while one of them remained alive.

We must again gratefully acknowledge that the enlightened and generous Tachatay-Kachi was on this occasion of great use to us. Two days passed away without any communication from the high authorities; but Kachi visited us twice a day accompanied by some of his friends whom the government gave him permission to bring on board. These visits were extremely agreeable to us, as they afforded us opportunities of testifying to Kachi how much we considered ourselves obliged to him. We offered his friends presents, but they would accept only of some trifles, and not even of them, without the permission of Kachi.

On the third day in the morning, Kachi came on board, with his countenance sparkling with joy, to inform me that I might have a conference with Captain Golownin and the other Russian prisoners. What a joyful message! though we had been permitted to write to Captain Golownin; yet, we received only short notes in return, or acknowledgements of the receipt of our letters. This plainly proved that the Japanese inspected what he wrote, and thus obliged him to observe great caution in his correspondance. Towards evening, Tachatay-Kachi brought us an irrefragable proof of his having seen our friends; namely, a letter in which Captain Golownin expressed satisfaction at being introduced to his acquaintance. On the fol-

lowing day, Kachi overjoyed me by the intimation that I might go on shore that day; and would find my friend Golownin and two of his sailors in the same edifice in which the solemn conference with the Japanese authorities had been held. The Interpreter Murakami-Teske, the Academician, and some officers of inferior rank, were to be present at this meeting. The Governors barge was to convey me on shore, and I was at liberty to take with me the same number of armed men as on the first occasion. With regard to the last suggestion, I answered: As this is to be merely a private interview, I will leave the two flags in the boat, and only take on shore with me the ship's clerk and five unarmed sailors, in order that they may enjoy the pleasure of seeing two of their old shipmates. Next morning at ten o'clock, Kachi came for me, and I went on shore with him and the men I had promised to take in the governor's barge.

As we approached the shore, I saw Golownin at the door of the edifice in a rich yellow dress with his sword by his side. I instantly forgot all attention to ceremony; did not allow Tachatay-Kachi to precede me, but leaped first on shore myself. Had I not served so long with Golownin, and lived in friendly intercourse with him, I certainly should not have recognized him in his habiliments; but I knew him among a crowd of Japanese; and the joy of our first embrace may be

imagined, but cannot be described. He had almost ceased to hope to see his country again, and I had scarcely ventured to hope that it would fall to my lot to deliver him.—Now, however, we were locked in each others arms. The delicacy of the Japanese made them desirous not to disturb the transport of our feelings; they accordingly drew back and chatted to each other.

At first we could only express ourselves in unconnected questions and answers; but when we became somewhat tranquil, we spoke on the main object of our meeting, for which, sufficient time was allowed us. Golownin, in a few words, related what he had suffered; and, in return, required from me an account of the situation of his country, his friends and his relatives. He then shewed me that I had formed an erroneous opinion on a very important point. The bad state of the ship had induced me to cherish the idea of wintering in Chakodade, as it appeared hazardous to return, at that late period of the year, to Kamtschatka. Golownin, however, observed that, according to the Japanese laws, we would be considered prisoners, and that it was therefore necessary to hasten our departure; and on his advice I wrote to that effect to the Japanese authorities. We took leave of each other, full of the hope of speedily meeting, never to be again so separated.

In the evening I had the pleasure of a visit from Kachi. He had been present at my interview

with Golownin, but, in the midst of it, he came up to me and said: "I am not well—excuse me," and went away. The sailors who accompanied me, and who never could place any faith in the Japanese, were alarmed at Kachi's withdrawing, particularly as in passing he had bid them, as they thought, in a very serious manner, farewell: they firmly believed that the Japanese were going to arrest me.

On this occasion Kachi brought a youth on board with him, and intimated that he had something wonderful to tell me. On returning home yesterday, he said, he very unexpectedly found—he would leave me to guess whom—his son! "Look at him," said Kachi, "is he not like me? Through him I have obtained the most joyful tidings of my wife. She returned, in good health, from her pilgrimage, and she had scarcely entered her apartment, scarcely laid aside her travelling-dress, when she received, by post, the letter I wrote to her on our arrival at Kunashier." I expressed a sincere wish for the future happiness of my friend and his affectionate wife. These events confirmed him still more in his belief of predestination to which he was much devoted. I paid particular attention to his son; ordered that he should be shewn every part of the ship, and introduced him to my officers who, with the assistance of Kisseleff, carried on a friendly conversation with him. Kachi, in the mean time, gave me an account of his friend the hermit.

"*Taisho!*" said he, "men are to be found in Japan without the help of a lantern.*—How do you think I can make a return to my friend? He despises riches; I must do something worthy of his greatness of soul. You know I have a daughter but owing to her misconduct, I have forbidden her to bear my name. To me she has long since been numbered with the dead. You have taken a great interest in her fate; I have always been deeply moved whenever you entreated that I would become reconciled to her: perhaps you thought your friendship slighted because I remained inexorable; but you knew not the customs of our country, nor were you aware that you required a sacrifice of my honour."†

"Now," continued he, "since I possess so invaluable a treasure in my friend, who has withdrawn himself from the world, I will make a sacrifice as rare as his friendship—a sacrifice which,

* He alluded to the story of Diogenes, which I had related to him in Kamtschatka, and with which he was highly pleased. In general he was deeply interested by examples of virtue and greatness of soul, such as the conduct of the celebrated Dolgoruki, when he tore the ukase of Peter the Great. Whenever he listened to that anecdote he would place his hand on his head in token of veneration, and exclaim, with emotion, "*Okee, okee!*" (Great, great!) Then pressing his hand to his heart he would say, *Kusuri!* (medicine!) A term by which he was accustomed to designate any dish that particularly pleased him, and of which he wished to express his admiration.

† I had, indeed, frequently so moved him that he shed tears; but his resolution remained unaltered.

according to our ideas of honour, is the severest wound that the heart of a father can endure. I have resolved to call my daughter into life, and to forgive her. I need only communicate this determination to my friend, and he will understand me."

He then requested that I would permit him to distribute the property he had on board the ship among the seamen. This he did in person; giving those articles which were of highest value to such of the crew as he was best acquainted with, particularly our cook, whom he used to call his friend: for, though he honoured my dishes of morality with the title of *kusuri*, yet he was not insensible that he needed food for the body as well as the mind, and that the former was also *kusuri* to him. The articles he gave away consisted of silk and cotton dresses, large wadded quilts and night-gowns, and they were so numerous that every man on board received a present of some kind or other. He then requested that the sailors might be allowed to make merry that evening. "Taischo," said he, "sailors are all alike, whether Russian or Japanese: they are all fond of a glass; and there is no danger in the harbour of Chakodade." Though I had, on that joyful day, already ordered a double allowance of grog to be served out to the crew; yet I could not decline complying with the request of the good Kachi. He immediately sent his sailors on shore to pro-

cure saki; and, according to the Japanese custom, ordered them to bring pipes and a paper of tobacco for each of our seamen. I conducted him to the cabin, where I had previously laid out the presents which had been sent with the embassy. They consisted of painted porcelain, marble slabs, and crystal vessels of various descriptions. "Now," said I, "fulfil the promise which you made in Kunashier. Take whatever you like best. Or, since your officers despise our presents, take them all to yourself." "To what purpose should I accept of the costly things," he said, with all the sincerity of friendship, "since, according to our laws, they must all be taken from me, and the government will merely indemnify me with money."

With considerable difficulty I, at length, prevailed on him to accept of a few trifles. He chose what pleased him best, namely, a pair of silver spoons, two knives and other articles for the table; but he was particularly delighted on my presenting him with a tea-service. "I can now," said he, "entertain my friends after the Russian fashion, in remembrance of the hospitality I have experienced among you." In general he expressed himself pleased with our mode of living, and though he could not always sit at table with us, because the Japanese do not eat butchers' meat, yet he had his meals served up at the same time, and always took tea with us. He generally drank

his tea without sugar, but he eat large quantities of the latter separately.

We remained together until midnight. When about to withdraw he expressed his regret that the Japanese laws did not allow him to invite and entertain us at his own house; since we might also wish to possess some *chasees* and *sagasukees*,* as memorials of Japanese hospitality.

On the following day we were much concerned to hear that Tachatay-Kachi had caught a severe cold, in consequence of his frequent communications with the *Diana*, having obliged him to be so much on the water. We were therefore visited by the young interpreter, who was sent by the high officers to inform us that on the following morning, Golownin and the rest of the prisoners would be sent on board. In confirmation of this message, he brought a letter from Golownin, by which it appeared that they had all been carried before the Bunyo; who, in the presence of a numerous assembly, had formally announced their liberation. The high officers requested that I would, next morning, go once more on shore, to hold a conference with them, to take charge of my liberated countrymen, and to receive the papers which had been prepared for me.

As a proof that I implicitly relied on the ho-

* Lackered cups and small pieces of wood, which the Japanese use instead of knives and forks.

pour of the Japanese Government, I informed our welcome messenger that I would go ashore without guards, and merely in a boat bearing white flags, in order to convince the people that the liberation of our countrymen had been effected without any kind of force whatever. The interpreter, with some other visitors, who had been attracted by curiosity, remained with us until night, and we now, for the first time, succeeded in persuading our guests to receive a few tokens of friendship. Our presents, on this occasion, consisted of pieces of Spanish leather, which the Japanese prized beyond any thing else we could have offered them.

The 7th of October was the happy day on which all our difficulties were to be amply requited. Tachatay-Kachi arrived very early, in the Governor's barge. Owing to indisposition he appeared in his ordinary dress. On my expressing some apprehensions on account of his health, he replied, "Never fear! Joy has already made me better, and when I see you and Golownin rowing towards the ship, I shall be quite well again."

He assured us, that the Bunyo was much pleased with the frank confidence which I had placed in the honour of the Japanese. At twelve o'clock, I went on board the barge, accompanied only by Savelieff and Wasseleff, and rowed, under white flags, to the well-known edifice, where the Japanese were in waiting to receive us. Our pri-

soners immediately appeared at the door. They all wore yellow dresses of a uniform cut, with seamen's trowsers and waistcoats of various colours. The officers' dresses were made of a material resembling our figured silk stuffs, those of the sailors consisted of taffety. The Kurile, Alexei, wore a dress of dark-coloured silk, made in the Japanese form. To complete this whimsical costume, the officers wore their swords and uniform hats. On any other occasion, we should have been highly diverted by the singularity of their appearance, but now it did not even excite a smile. Friend gazed at friend with emotion and joy, and our thoughts were expressed more by our looks than by words. Tears of gratitude to Providence glistened in the eyes of our liberated countrymen. The Japanese retired and left us for some time alone, in order that we might give vent to our feelings. My countrymen were then formally delivered over to me by the two Ginmiyaks, Takahassi-Sampey and Cood-Simoto-Chiogoro. The papers of the Japanese government, which I was to lay before the authorities on my arrival in Russia, were presented to me with the ceremonies which have already been described by Captain Golownin. Refreshments were then handed to us in the usual manner.

Having once more expressed our sincere thanks, we rowed from the shore at two o'clock, accompanied by a countless number of boats.

crowded with Japanese of both sexes. Notwithstanding a violent adverse wind, none of the numerous boats by which we were surrounded put back. The *Diana* was decorated with flags, and all the yards were manned by the crew who saluted us with three cheers. The enthusiasm of the seamen, on once more beholding their beloved Commander and his companions in misfortune, after a separation of two years and three months, was indeed boundless. Many melted into tears. This scene, so highly honourable to the whole crew, can never be effaced from my recollection. Golownin and his companions, who were moved to their inmost souls, knelt down before the sacred image of the ship (the miracle-working SAINT NICOLAS), and returned thanks to heaven.

A number of boats now came alongside, bringing fresh water, wood, one thousand large radishes, fifty boxes filled with grits, thirty with salt, and, in short, provisions of every description though none had been asked on our part. When we declared that we stood in no need of these supplies, the Japanese replied that they had been ordered to provide the prisoners with provisions sufficient to last them until they reached Kamtschatka. To avoid any thing like dispute I accepted of all that was sent. A considerable time was spent in unloading the boats. Many of the Japanese, whom the DOSEENEE now permitted to come on board the vessel, set to work

so zealously, that it was difficult to say which most deserved admiration:—the pleasure with which our seamen worked, or the obliging manner in which the Japanese assisted them. They appeared as one people, and no spectator could have supposed that between their native homes half the circumference of the globe intervened! Civility, kindness, good humour and activity animated all. They reciprocally treated each other with brandy and saki; and, in the midst of their labours, they enjoyed a holiday!

Some Japanese officers, of the rank of *Shtoyagu*, came on board to visit us. Among them were the interpreters, the *Shtoyagu* MURAKAMI-TESKE and the *Saidshu* KUMADDSCHERO. The former spoke Russian much better than the latter, and also possessed more general information. They were accompanied by the academician and an interpreter of the Dutch language, the latter of whom had been in Nangasky when RESANOFF and KRUSENSTERN visited that port in the *Nadeschda*. He recollected several of the Russian officer's names, and also spoke some Russian and understood French. We entertained them in the European stile, in the cabin, and they examined every part of the ship with the greatest attention. Towards evening, a multitude of Japanese came on board, but all men, for now to our mortification the women were not permitted to enter the ship. The deck was so crowded that our seamen could not

move a step without difficulty, and the DOSEENEE were, at last, obliged to employ their iron batoons in driving their countrymen into the boats, whence the women looked anxiously up as if they wished to have a share in the bustle. To console them we handed some trifles down to them, for which they returned thanks by very expressive gestures.

On the 10th of October, when all was ready for our departure, the government sent us a quantity of vegetables and fresh and salt fish. I had just given orders for weighing the anchor when Tachatay-Kachi appeared, with a number of boats, which he brought to tow us from the harbour into the bay. The old interpreter and several of Golownin's acquaintances also came out in a large boat and accompanied us to the mouth of the bay. The ship's company took farewell of our Japanese friends, by cheering them; and, as a mark of sincere gratitude to Kachi, they gave—THE TAISHO! HURRAH! in three separate and additional cheers. Kachi and his sailors stood up in their boat and returned the cheers, calling as loud as they were able—THE DIANA! HURRAH!

We had to encounter a heavy storm, of six hours duration, on the Japanese coast. Our situation was extremely dangerous; the night was dark and the rain fell in a torrent. The water in the hold rose to forty inches, notwithstanding that we kept the pumps constantly at work. At last, the storm moderated, and, in the midst of a shower

of snow, we happily entered the harbour of Petropaulowskoi on the 3rd of September.

On the 6th of November, we held our last thanksgiving on board the ship, and proceeded to the barracks which we had occupied in the preceding winter, with the consoling reflection, that having now completed our labours, we should soon return to our friends and relatives, from whom we had been separated during seven years, that time having elapsed since we took our departure from Petersburgh.

Thus ended our first communication with a people who, through unfortunate circumstances and the misrepresentations of the selfish Dutch, had been impressed with so unfavourable an opinion of the Russians, that we even entertained apprehensions lest our prisoners should be put to death. Providence, however, watched over their safety, and their misfortune has effected what human wisdom deemed impracticable. Two great empires, hitherto almost unknown to each other, have made a vast step towards future intercourse; and there is even ground to hope, that a further approximation, advantageous for both nations, may take place between them.

As I had reason to fear that our worn-out vessel might founder in the harbour of Petropaulowskoi, like the ship which had served in the expedition of Captain Billings, we run her right ashore on the beach. The *Diana*, no longer able

to contend with the waves of the ocean, now serves as a magazine, and will be a memorial of former times. It seems probable, that these shores, celebrated by the voyages of *Cook* and *La Perouse*, and the geographical situation of which is so advantageous for trade, will become better known to the neighbouring Asiatic nations, and be visited by navigators from the most distant corners of the world. Then will the *Diana* perhaps often engage the attention of those who love to reflect on the wonderful course of human events.

On the day of our arrival at Petropaulowskoi all was cheerfulness in our little circle, with one exception—the unfortunate Moor alone presented a different aspect. His conduct arose from error, not from turpitude of heart or any settled design of treason to his country. Being bereft of all hope of returning to Russia and flattered with the idea of obtaining freedom among the Japanese, he was induced to depart from the path of honour. When circumstances unexpectedly changed, he became every day more and more depressed in spirits, and finally yielded to despair. A man of ordinary mind might easily have been brought to forget his own errors; but a heart in which every honourable sentiment had been deeply rooted, was for ever poisoned by a single offence. When he first came on board the ship, after his liberation, I eagerly advanced to embrace him; but he shrunk back, and, reaching his sword out to me, ex-

claimed, in a faultering voice, "I am unworthy of your notice! I am only fit to be confined with criminals!" What a blow to a heart which, like mine, had just been so completely transported with joy! I feared lest the seamen might observe what was passing, and suddenly collecting myself took the sword, and said, "I receive it as a memorial of this happy day." I then conducted him to the cabin, where Captain Golownin and Mr. Chlebnikoff were expressing their gratitude to the officers of the vessel. Golownin presented to me his sword; the same which, during his captivity, the Emperor of Japan had expressed a wish to see, and I now preserve it as the most valuable reward of my enterprise. To the officers he gave his telescopes, pistols and astronomical instruments. He gave to the senior non-commissioned officer one hundred rubles; to the juniors seventy-five; to each seaman twenty-five, and to the sailors who had been his companions in captivity five hundred rubles each. But to Makaroff who, as the reader knows, was of particular use to him, he besides granted a pension, amounting to a seaman's annual pay, from his estate in the government of Casan. To the Kurile, Alexei, he gave a set of carpenter's tools, a rifle, powder, shot, tobacco and two hundred and fifty rubles in money. Even Moor took occasion to express his gratitude; but he constantly turned to me with the words "I am unworthy!" Golownin frequently entreated him to

forget what had passed, as he had himself blotted it all from his recollection; but Mr. Moor was overwhelmed with remorse. The exhortations of friendship produced no effect upon him; and he generally maintained a gloomy silence. The rest is known to the reader. Moor was a young man of extraordinary talent, and always distinguished himself in the performance of his duty. To all the qualifications of a seaman, in their fullest extent, he joined the possession of other sciences; was familiar with several foreign languages, and spoke two fluently. With such a character and such accomplishments it was impossible not to love him, and I am confident that all who knew him will participate in the sorrow of his old shipmates for the unhappy termination of his career.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Vol 1..page 42..line 5..for *our* read *their*.
139 21..insert *a* before *cotton*.
191 18..insert *us* after *occasioned*.
Vol. 2..page 256..line 26..insert a comma after the word *trouble*.

EXPLANATION

Of Words and Terms, chiefly Russian, which occur in the preceding Work.

Baidar or *Bajdare*—a kind of boat used in the Kurile Islands and on the Coasts of Japan.

Copec—the hundreth part of a ruble, in value about a halfpenny.

Eessaul—a chief or officer.

Hairy Kuriles—A race of men who inhabit the Kurile Islands, and whose bodies are covered with short hairs.

Ispravnik—the captain or chief of a district.

Kibitka—a kind of travelling carriage.

Kwass—a strong liquor.

Natschalnik—chief commander.

Parkis—large cloaks made of the skins of quadrupeds or birds.

Pood—one pood contains 40 Russian or 36 English lbs.

Ruble—a ruble is in general worth about 4*s*. 2*d*., but the value varies according to the course of exchange.

Step or *steppe*—a desert or extensive heath.

Tschetwerik—the 8th part of a tschetwert, which is equal to $5\frac{3}{26}$ Winchester bushels.

Werst or *verst*—a measure of length containing 500 sazsheens or fathoms, each 7 feet English—Two English miles are equal to about 3 Russian wersts.

N. B.—When the depth of water is expressed in fathoms, the measure is 6 feet the same as the English fathom.

The Russians frequently use patronymics in the names of persons,—forming the patronymic, in the case of persons of quality, by the addition of *vitsch* or *itsch* to the Christian name of the father. Thus CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN is sometimes called WASSILI MICHAELOVITSCH, and so with others.

The Japanese words are all explained as they occur.

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